

# news from neasden

a catalogue of new  
radical publications



autumn 1978    number 10

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\$1.25



# news from news from neasden

*News from Neasden* is meant to be published in February, August and November. Recently the increased size has caused delays but we hope to improve our production soon. Sent free to bookshops (300 UK, 400 North America, 120 Australia and New Zealand, 100 Europe). 200 are sent to papers through UAPS (Europe). We charge publishers for entries. The rate is £15/\$30 a title for commercial publishers, £10/\$20 for a non-commercial publisher and £5/\$10 for a title from a non-commercial publisher selling at £1/\$2 or less. Subscriptions: see inside back cover.

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## mail order

*News from Neasden* now reaches people who cannot find all the titles we list in a local bookshop. We want to encourage mail order arrangements. Both Carrier Pigeon and PDC can supply single copies of the titles they distribute. Some publishers prefer mail order to go to them, but if individuals want titles from more than one publisher it is useful to have one source they can be ordered from. Please send payment with order — a sterling or dollar cheque, Postal Order, or International Money Order. Please add 15% (minimum 20p/50c) for post and packing. (For addresses of Carrier Pigeon and PDC, see below.) International Books in Melbourne can supply all the books in *News from Neasden* and those pamphlets distributed by PDC. Initially this arrangement will help the availability of US and UK books in Australia. We hope to have more Australian books in future issues of *News from Neasden* which International Books could supply to people outside Australia. As Australian prices vary, they

FRANKFURT  
ISSUE

## contents

Law	1	Asia	47
Medicine	1	Europe	49
Social Science	1	Latin America	50
Science	2	Middle East	52
Sexual Politics	3	UK	54
History	8	US	58
Education	16	Culture	60
Theory	18	Diary	62
International		Addresses	63
Africa	45	Index	69

## reviews & articles

The Frankfurt School: Diana Gravill	p.23
Dissident Trials: Richard Handyside	p.26
We won't be terrorised out of existence: Bookshop Joint Action	p.32
Socialism in No Country: a review of Rudolf Bahro's <i>The Alternative: A Critique of Socialism as it actually exists</i> by Detlev Claussen	p.37
<i>The Politics of Sexuality in Capitalism</i> by Red Collective, reviewed by Liz Cooper	p.43



**Constitutional Law and Minorities  
Report No.36**

Professor Claire Palley

The report classifies the policies of assimilation, domination, and pluralism which represent majority attitudes toward minorities enacted through law. Through a broad and insightful survey it promotes evaluation and comparison of the relative treatment of minorities under different legal policies and points to the empirical ground for what are, finally, political decisions. Professor Palley has been a lecturer at Cape Town University and University College Rhodesia and professor of Public Law at Queen's College, Belfast. She is presently professor of Law and Master of Darwin College at the University of Kent, Canterbury.

22pp A4 75p  
ISSN 0305 6252

Publisher: Minority Rights Group

**The Cultural Crisis in Modern  
Medicine**

Edited by John Ehrenreich

Earlier radical critiques of America's health care system have focused attention on the poor distribution, high cost, and often low quality of health services. The essays in this volume extend the critique to include the nature of modern medicine itself. They argue that the health care systems characteristic of advanced capitalistic societies are agencies of domination as well as instruments of healing; that they help to perpetuate racism, sexism, and the entire fabric of capitalist class relations.

320pp \$15.00/£8.85  
Hardback ISBN 0 85345 438 8  
October

Publisher: Monthly Review

**Accumulation on a World Scale:  
A Critique of the Theory of Under-  
development**  
Samir Amin

The first paperback edition of this

book, largely a polemic against the popular theory which sees the 'cause' of underdevelopment in the structural characteristics of the backward countries themselves, interpreting them as nothing more than an earlier stage of the 'modernised societies'. Opposing this theory the author starts with the international division of labour, analyses the inequality characteristic of international specialisation, and the consequences of this for centre and periphery in terms of the international flow of capital.

666p Paperback £5.50  
ISBN 0 85527 631 2 8 1/4" x 5 1/2"  
Publisher: Harvester**The Geopolitics of Hunger**

Josué de Castro

A classic on food and population by a former chairman of the Food and Agriculture Organisation, this edition was completely revised by Dr de Castro shortly before his death in '73. There are new sections on Brazil, Cuba, China and technology in agriculture and food processing.

De Castro does not believe that hunger is "the natural result of overpopulation" but is rather the result of social forces. "When diets are inadequate, nature multiplies the number of offspring . . . Hunger is responsible for overpopulation."

464pp Paperback \$7.50/£4.50  
ISBN 0 85345 4566

October

Publisher: Monthly Review

**Political Economy  
Marxist Study Courses**

Originally published by the British Communist Party in 1931-32 as a series of pamphlets, this study was written while the entire capitalist world was plunged into the misery of the great depression. And while the specific features of the current economic crises are not exactly the same as those which led up to and characterised the depression of the '30s, this summation of Marx's analysis of capitalism and its crisis is bound to

strike the reader as very relevant today.

It provides a sound and basic understanding of Marx's exposure and explanation of the laws governing capitalism and its contradictions, together with Lenin's analysis of imperialism as monopoly capitalism.

548pp Oct '76 Paperback \$4.95  
Publisher: Banner Press  
Distributor: May Day Books & Publications**The Finance of British Industry  
1918-1976**

W.A. Thomas

How has British industry financed itself in the past? With the current debate on industry's financial strategy, this study of the past 60 years describes the trends in finance since the First World War, giving a detailed examination of the main source of funds. It traces the transition in the new issue market from an international to a predominantly domestic role and emphasises the influence of government policy on the financing of industry.

368pp Hardback £17.95  
ISBN 0 416 67420 8 240 x 159mm  
Publisher: Methuen October**The Politics of Nuclear Power**

Dave Elliott, with Pat Coyne, Mike George and Roy Lewis

The anti-nuclear movement in Britain is unique in avoiding direct confrontation with the authorities and in seeking to incorporate the politics of nuclear power into a wider political strategy. Dave Elliott and his co-authors explain the major issues involved, the implications of nuclear power for the lives and activities of working people, and the promise held out for jobs, the environment and the economy by the alternative technologies currently available.

160pp Paperback £1.95  
ISBN 0 86104 028 7 Octavo  
November

Publisher: Pluto Press

Distributors:

USA: Southwest Book Services

Canada: Pathfinder Press

Australia: Book People

**US Capitalism in Crisis**

Union for Radical Political Economics

This new URPE Crisis Reader contains 35 essays. All but seven have never before been published. The language is non-technical and accessible to people without formal training.

Authors represented in the volume include André Gunder Frank, Roger A. Alcala, David M. Gordon, Arthur MacEwan, the URPE Women's Work Project, the editors of *Monthly Review*, Alexander Cockburn and James Ridgeway, Eli Zaretsky, Anwar Shaikh, Thomas E. Weisskopf, Samuel Bowles, William K. Tabb, Richard Child Hill, the Institute for Labor Education and Research, Janice Perlman and Alan Wolfe.

346pp Paperback \$4.00/£2.35  
ISBN 0 85345 449 3

Publisher: URPE

Distributor: Monthly Review

**Science in a Free Society**

Paul Feyerabend

Paul Feyerabend's previous book, *Against Method*, stimulated wide controversy in the philosophy of science. In this new work, Feyerabend reviews that controversy and extends his critique to the social function and direction of science today. Attacking the prestige of science in the West, he argues that the lofty authority of the 'expert' claimed by scientists is incompatible with any genuine democracy, and calls for far greater diversity in education to facilitate democratic decisions on scientific issues.

170pp Hardback £7.50/\$15.50  
ISBN 86091 008 3

Publisher: New Left Books

US Distributor: Schocken Books



## SEXUAL POLITICS

### Women at W.A.R.

Women Against Rape, London and Bristol

For the first time in print, women in Britain tell of the rape they have experienced — and what they are doing to stop it. Jenny Smith on rape and battering in marriage, and how she fought to get out. Norma Steele on being a Black immigrant woman and the rape and violence this entails. Karen Crocker who worked as a stripper and was raped on her way home from work. Jan Wills on the violence lesbian women face. Ruth Hall, national spokeswoman for Women Against Rape, on the massive movement to end rape and the impact of W.A.R.'s activities, including the Women's Court in Trafalgar Square, London.

32pp A5 50p/\$1.60  
ISBN 0 905046 08 0  
Publisher: Falling Wall Press April '78  
Distributors:  
UK: PDC  
US: Carrier Pigeon & Women in Distribution  
Australia & New Zealand: Second Back Row Press

### The Law and Sexuality. How to Cope with the Law If You Are Not 100% Conventionally Heterosexual A Guide to the Law for Lesbians, Gay Men, Transvestites and Transsexuals

Steve Cohen, Stephanie Green, Lesley Merryfinch, Gay Jones, Janet Slade, Maggie Walker

This handbook describes the law as it affects gay people, gives advice on how to cope with the law and aids our understanding of the law by showing how the oppression of all gay people is a part of the oppression of all women.

The authors have based their book on their experiences in a gay rights group connected to Manchester Law

Hum..... 'Gay'.....  
... indicating mirth,  
light-hearted,  
sportive.... airy,  
off-hand.... cheeky,  
impertinent.....  
dissolute... immoral.  
showy.... brilliant..



Centre. They have done their own original research (with references) and have compiled a useful comprehensive address list.

The book covers censorship, mental health, employment, young people, divorce, adoption and custody as well as the criminal law.

The price has been kept low because of a good response to our appeal for funds to aid publication.

172pp Hardback £3.95  
ISBN 0 906334 01 2  
Paperback £1.00  
ISBN 0 906433 00 4 A5  
Publisher: Grassroots Books with Manchester Law Centre  
Distributor: PDC

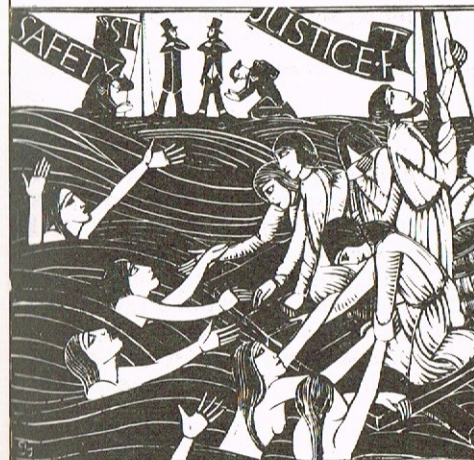
### The Politics of Matriarchy Matriarchy Study Group

We explore women's values in pre-history and translate them into the present. Matriarchal values mean non-patriarchal, non-hierarchical living, hearth-centred, exploring seasonal festivals, lunar and menstrual rhythms.

Pamphlet Autumn '78 45p  
Publisher: Matriarchy Study Group  
Distributor: PDC

## SEXUAL POLITICS

### The Struggle in the Labour Movement Labour Abortion Rights Campaign



"As socialists we are for the extension of choice in all areas of life and for the rights of individuals to control their lives. This pamphlet is an introduction to the history of working class women and their fight to control their reproductive lives. This history shows that contraception and abortion have only become a political issue when information and facilities were demanded for the mass of the people — the rich and privileged being considered to have a 'natural right' to make their own decisions about these things."

28pp A5 40p  
Publisher: Labour Abortion Rights Campaign

### Is It Worthwhile Working in a Mixed Group

Pauline Long and Mary Coghill

Revised version with new material from women working in mixed collectives. The first paper, 'Is it worthwhile working in a mixed group' gives a historical resumé to indicate the historical background for a society without patriarchy. It goes on to show how our understanding of these ideas is reflected in practice in a mixed group.

The second paper, 'Towards the gynandrous woman', is an account of patriarchy and how we can try to go beyond it. It shows how ideas must not only be defined but must also be given personal relevance, both for the originator and the follower if they are to have meaning.

A5 Autumn '78 40p  
Publisher: Beyond Patriarchy Publications  
Distributor: PDC

### Papers on Patriarchy

Paper from the 1976 women's conference on patriarchy. They are: Why Theory?; Psychoanalysis and patriarchal structures; Language and gender; Cross-cultural subordination of women; Patriarchy in China; Women and the labour process; Sexuality; and Was the patriarchy conference patriarchal?

84pp A5 95p approx  
Publisher: Womens Publishing Collective/PDC '78 (reprint)

### Open and Positive

John Warburton, Peter Bradley, Paul Patrick & Peter Vetter

*Open and Positive* is about being an openly gay teacher in modern Britain. It centres around the story of John Warburton, whom the Inner London Education Authority refused to continue in employment after he had come out as gay to his pupils in 1974. However, it is not only a narrative of his — so far — unsuccessful fight for reinstatement, but also a detailed examination of why gay teachers, and all gay people, should come out as gay at work. John's narrative/analysis is accompanied by contributions from three other openly gay teachers speaking of their experiences. *Open and Positive* is also an indictment of his employers, the ILEA, and his trade union, the NUT, for their anti-gay prejudice which has



## SEXUAL POLITICS

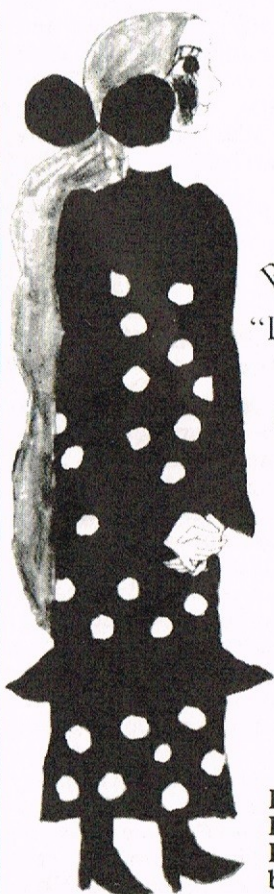
resulted in John being denied employment as a teacher for four years.

The booklet is unique in that, so far as we know, it is the first fully documented account to be published of a clear case of anti-gay discrimination in the field of employment. The whole is of major interest to the gay community and all interested in the struggle for gay rights in the work-place.

72pp A5 June '78 75p/\$2  
ISBN 0 9506 179 0 3  
Publisher: Gay Teachers' Group  
Distributors:  
UK: PDC  
US: Carrier Pigeon

**Masculinity and Femininity  
The Psychological Dimensions,  
Correlates, and Antecedents**  
Janet T. Spence and  
Robert L. Helmreich

This volume is a landmark in the field of the psychology of masculinity and femininity. This extensive and systematic body of research refutes the traditional notion that men and women are psychological opposites — or that there is a single psychological dimension with masculinity (and most men) at one extreme and femininity (and most women) at the other. Spence and Helmreich show, rather, that



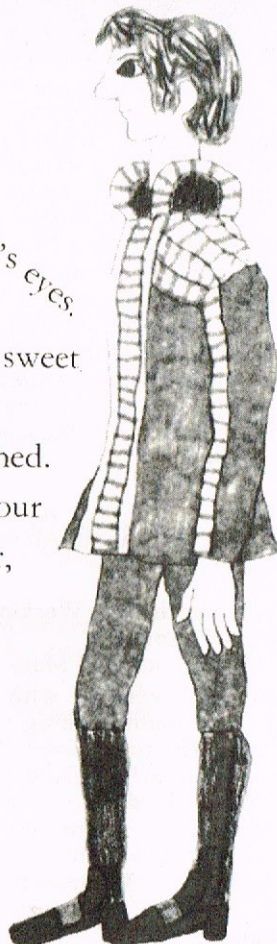
Palette looked earnestly into Rosy's eyes.

"Do you love me, Rosy, my sweet one?" he asked.

"Why yes, Palette," she sighed.

"Well, then I shall go to your father, the Chief Minister, and ask for your hand in marriage, come what may."

From *The Painted Kitten* by Istvan Kornos, illustrated by Eva Gael, published in Hungary by Corvina Press. Distributed in the UK by Central Books.



## SEXUAL POLITICS

traits traditionally considered feminine (interpersonal skills and concern with others) characterise women only slightly more than men and those considered masculine (instrumental skills such as independence and assertiveness) characterise men only slightly more than women.

384pp Hardback £10.50  
ISBN 292 76443 X 6 x 9 inches  
Publisher: University of Texas Press  
Distributor: American University Publishers Group

**The Making of an Anarchist**  
Voltaireine De Cleyre

Black Bear's fourth pamphlet, their first on anarcho-feminist history, contains two essays, one by Marian Leighton written in 1974 placing Voltairine De Cleyre in the context of nineteenth-century anarchism and giving a brief biography. The second essay is by De Cleyre herself and serves as a brief introduction to her life and her anarchism.

16pp A5 25p  
Publisher: Black Bear  
Distributors: Ferret

**Undercurrents  
Special Issue: Women and Energy**

Just as the relationship of women to social and political power has in the past been mainly passive, so their relationship to science and technology has been as consumers only. With the emergence of women into active participation in society, technology is inevitably losing its male exclusiveness. Women have their own point of view to present.

Articles include: A women's view of taking part in the Windscale Enquiry; Women Scientists, Do they use science in a different way? Are there links between Feminism and Alternative Technology? Women, Trade Unions and the right to socially useful

work; The energy of the Women's Movement, Where is it going? Working in mixed groups, Do women and men speak different languages?

48pp A4 45p/\$1.25  
6 times a year  
Publisher: Undercurrents  
Distributors:  
UK: PDC  
UK: Carrier Pigeon  
Australia: Book People of Australia  
Holland: Bas Moreel

**RFD A Country Journal  
by Gay Men**  
No 14 Visual Issue

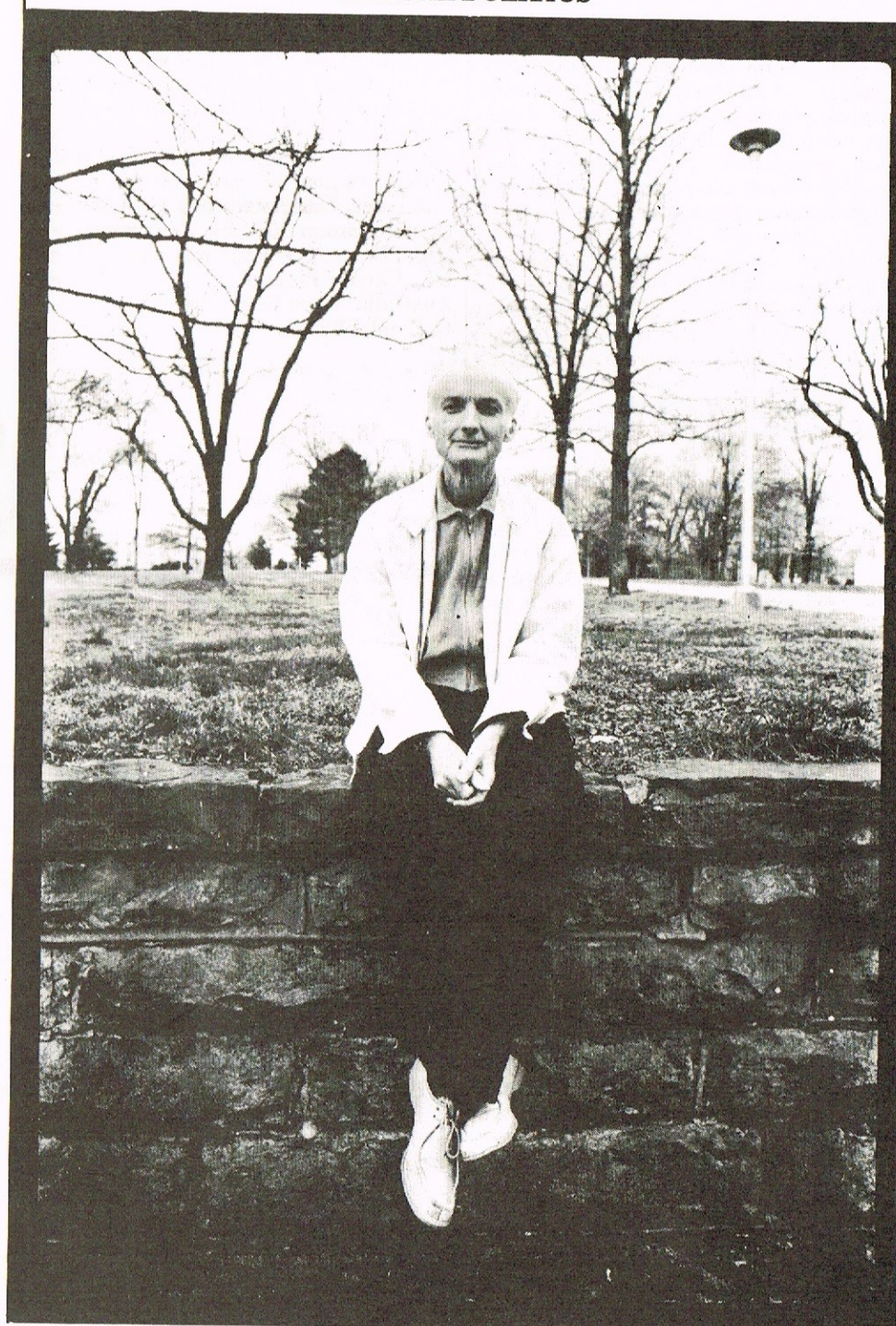
Subscription (four issues) USA \$6, elsewhere \$7.

56pp \$1.75  
Publisher: RFD



HILL CREATURES encounter other aliens with our camera! / LAVENDER HILL, N. Y.





### Women and Education

Eileen Byrne

For the last thirty years there has been a general acceptance of the idea that equality in education came with the post war reconstruction of state education. Yet today the education service is as male-oriented and as male-dominated as in the Victorian era which laid its foundations.

Eileen Byrne's introduction to the theme of the education of girls and women, and of the women in education, examines many modern educational policies and exposes the continuing basic problems of the severe under-achievement of girls and women, even today, and of the missing role of women in the government of education.

256pp Hardback about £7.00  
ISBN 0 422 75960 0  
Paperback 192 x 123mm about £3.50  
ISBN 0 422 75970 8  
November  
Publisher: Tavistock

### Women United, Women Divided

#### Cross Cultural Perspectives on Female Solidarity

Edited by Patricia Caplan and Janet M. Bujra

In a collection of nine articles written about widely differing societies in India, East and West Africa, Australia, China, the West Indies and Britain, the authors explore the way in which women exhibit solidarity with one another and the extent to which such solidarity is used by them to ameliorate or change their position *vis-à-vis* men.

There is a wide diversity in the extent to which the societies studied manifest forms of female solidarity. The authors have looked for reasons to account for these differences, using as a crucial variable the sexual segregation that was found to be present

in all the societies studied.

about 256pp Hardback about £7.00  
ISBN 0 422 76480 9  
Paperback 192 x 256mm about £3.50  
ISBN 0 422 76490 6  
Publisher: Tavistock

### The Factory Girls

Edited by Philip S. Foner

Until the emergence of these vocal dissidents in the 1840s, the factory girls' status had been pictured in terms of quiet evenings, pianos, lectures, literary meetings, and selfless devotion to duty and the mill. This myth began to fade as many women became committed to improving their working conditions. This volume includes selections from the little known monthly and weekly magazines of both the 'genteel' and 'militant' factory workers, essays, novels, political tracts, poems and songs. Included too are writings of the first three women labour leaders in American history, Sarah G. Bagley, Huldah J. Stone, and Mehitabel Eastman.

390pp Hardback £10.50  
ISBN 252 00422 1 6" x 9"  
Publisher: University of Illinois Press  
Distributor: American University Publishers Group

### Slavery, Imperialism and Freedom

#### Studies in English Radical Thought

Gordon K. Lewis

These gracefully written essays demonstrate the influence of British imperialism, slavery and expansion on the development of radical ideology and politics in Britain itself. Beginning with the debate on empire and slavery in the eighteenth century, and concluding with the contemporary 'return of the colonial native' and the issue of race and colour in England, Lewis provides us with a convincing portrait of the impact of



## HISTORY

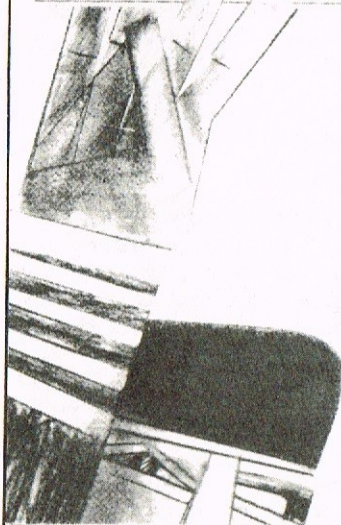
empire on succeeding generations of radical thinkers. In the process Lewis discusses the main currents of British thought during the last 150-year period. He ranges from Bulwer-Lytton's *England and the English* to the Victorian Free-thinkers, the Christian Socialists, the Fabians and Churchill as a spokesman for the 'master class'.

320pp Hardback \$15.00/£8.85  
ISBN 0 85345 4477 October  
Publisher: Monthly Review

### Interpretations of Fascism Renzo de Felice

De Felice has gained access to many of the most important documents of the fascist era in Italy. He distinguishes between Italian fascism as a 'movement' and as a 'regime'. According to de Felice, fascism was born 'on the left' and stands in the political and

## Interpretations of FASCISM Renzo De Felice



cultural tradition of the Enlightenment and the French Revolution with their ideas of progress and faith in the 'new man'.

The author is interested in how writers have perceived fascism and his long list of interpreters includes Hannah Arendt, Wilhelm Reich, Erich Fromm, Theodor Adorno, Seymour Lipset and Zbigniew Brzezinski.

288pp Hardback \$18.00/£11.25  
ISBN 0 674 45962 8 June '78  
Publisher: Harvard University Press

### Class Struggles in the USSR: First Period 1917-1923 Charles Bettelheim

The immediate point of departure for *Class Struggles in the USSR* was the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. Those who consider themselves Marxists, Bettelheim argues, cannot be content to 'condemn' or 'regret' political acts: it is also necessary to explain them.

The central theme of the work is the nature and pervasiveness throughout most of Soviet history of the 'rigidified Marxism' with which, Bettelheim believes, "it is necessary to break if historical and dialectical materialism are to regain their true revolutionary character".

567pp Hardback £12.50  
ISBN 0 85527 620 7 8½" x 5½"  
Paperback £5.00  
ISBN 0 85527 581 2  
Publisher: Harvester Press

### Class Struggles in the USSR: Second Period, 1923-1930 Charles Bettelheim

The author aims to identify as objectively as possible the fundamental social forces at work determining the pattern of events in the crucial period of the history of the Soviet Union 1923-1930. His starting points are the social relations of production

## HISTORY

and the class struggles with which the Bolshevik Party and its leaders were confronted.

Bettelheim focuses particularly on that fusion of contradictions which was seen at the end of the 1920s as a 'general crisis' of the New Economic

Policy, a crisis that in fact represented the failure of the attempted alliance between workers and peasants in the USSR.

616pp Hardback £12.50  
ISBN 0 85527 521 9 9" x 6"  
Publisher: Harvester Press



"They're going to make slaves of the Russian people"

### China from the Opium Wars to the 1911 Revolution

Jean Chesneaux, Marianne Bastid,  
Marie-Claire Bergere

The book portrays China from the nineteenth to the early twentieth century as a place of tumultuous upheaval and conflict. It was a time of intense, passionate searching for ways to preserve a society in the face of Western expansionism and the rebellion of the peasants and poor against their domestic opponents.

"Despite its austere title and formidable bulk, I couldn't put it down. Its authors have achieved the rare distinction of going into minute detail without even threatening to bore the

average reader." Dervla Murphy,  
*Irish Times*

412pp Hardback £12.50  
ISBN 0 85527 759 9  
Paperback £5.00  
ISBN 0 85527 661 4  
Publisher: Harvester Press

### China from the 1911 Revolution to Liberation

Jean Chesneaux, Le Barbier,  
M.C. Bergere

From the fall of the Manchu dynasty in 1911 to its liberation in 1949, China was torn apart by foreign invasion, bitter civil war, the ravages of famine, countryside banditry, and a



## HISTORY

revolutionary upheaval of unparalleled proportions. It was in this setting that China's Communist Party gradually forged bold and experimental policies which helped mobilise millions of poor peasants to fight and die for a new society.

372pp Hardback £12.50  
ISBN 0 85527 760 2  
Paperback £5.00  
ISBN 0 85527 651 7  
Publisher: Harvester Press

**The People's Republic of China:  
1949-1976**  
Jean Chesneaux

During these pivotal decades, the Chinese struggled to find an alternative to the Soviet model of industrialisation and to confront the awesome problems of bureaucratisation under the guidance of their most formidable leader, Mao Tsetung. From the earliest years of copying the Soviet model, to the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution, to the deaths of Mao and Chou En-lai and the rise to power of Hua Kuo-feng, this excellent account covers every major controversy and mass campaign that has shaped China since 1949.

340pp Hardback £12.50  
ISBN 0 85527 822 6  
Paperback £5.50  
ISBN 0 85527 832 3  
Publisher: Harvester Press October

**With Trotsky in Exile  
From Prinkipo to Coyoacan**  
Jean Van Heijenoort

In this intriguing and revealing memoir, Jean Van Heijenoort recounts the story of the seven years he served as secretary, translator, and body-guard for Leon Trotsky. Van Heijenoort was only twenty years old when he arrived at the Turkish island of Prinkipo, where Trotsky and his

wife had been living since their expulsion from Russia. He stayed with them from 1932 until 1939, travelling from Prinkipo to France and Norway and then to the Mexican town of Coyoacan. Nine months after he left them, Trotsky was assassinated.

July '78  
Hardback \$15.65/£8.75  
ISBN 0 674 80255 1 6¼" x 9¼"  
Publisher: Harvard University Press

**From Humanism to Science, 1480  
to 1700**  
Robert Mandrou

This description of intellectual life, spanning two centuries of dramatic philosophical change, is a history of minds at work — men voicing their thoughts, their dreams, their likes and dislikes — in their own historical setting. Robert Mandrou's method is to reconstruct the role play by the intellectuals, both within the institutions consecrated to them and also outside them, and he attempts to estimate what impact they had on their contemporaries and on later times.

0 85527 994 X  
312pp Hardback £10.50  
Publisher: Harvester Press October

**The Italian Nationalist Association  
and the Rise of Fascism in Italy**  
Alexander J. de Grand

After Mussolini himself, the Italian Nationalist Association made the single most important contribution to the construction of the Fascist system. This book traces the growth of the movement from the first attempt to combine imperialism, nationalism and authoritarianism in the review *Il Regno* (1903-1905), through the birth of the association in 1910 under the leadership of Corradini and Federzoni, to the crisis of World War I and the rise of fascism, to the fusion of the Fascist party and the Association and the consolidation of

## HISTORY

Nationalist influence within the Fascist regime.

238pp £9.40  
ISBN 8032 0949 5  
5½" x 8½"  
Publisher: University of Nebraska Press  
Distributors: American University Publishers Group Ltd.

**Rebels and their Causes**  
Edited by A.L. Morton

A 75th birthday presentation for A.L. Morton, author of *A People's History of England*. Contributions include Christopher Hill on Lollards and Levellers; Eric Hobsbawm on the Communist History Group; A.L. Lloyd on the Ballad of the Killing of Lord Leitrim; Edgell Rickword on William Cobbett; Jack Lindsay on the poet Ebenezer Jones; Victor Kiernan on British Labour and Jingoism; John Saville on Robert Owen; Margot Heinemann on Richard Overton; and Willie Thompson on the Scottish Covenanters.

208pp Hardback £7.50  
ISBN 85315 426 0 8½" x 5½"  
November 1978  
Publisher: Lawrence & Wishart  
Distributor: Central Books

**Economy and Class Structure of  
German Fascism**  
Alfred Sohn-Rethel

The author, a marxist member of the German underground, infiltrated the office of the MWT, a business association representing the heavy industries which had most to gain from Nazi success. As an editorial assistant on the *Führerbriefe*, a newsletter commenting on current affairs which was circulated exclusively among the upper echelons of German capitalism, Sohn-Rethel had a bird's eye view of the events he describes. The book's wealth of anecdotal material enriches our historical understanding, but its real value lies in its

incisive and vigorous analysis of the economic determinants of fascism.

Publisher: Gresse Books £5.95

**Passages from Antiquity to  
Feudalism**

Perry Anderson

The widely acclaimed study of the problems posed by the change from the ancient to the medieval world, from the slave mode of production to the disappearance of the Byzantine Empire.

"The breathtaking range of conception and architectural skill with which it has been executed make this work a formidable intellectual experience." *New York Review of Books*

304pp Paperback £2.95/\$5.95  
ISBN 86091 709 6 October  
Publisher: Verso/New Left Books  
US Distributor: Schocken Books

**Capital and Labour: Partners?  
Two Classes—Two views**

Victor Levant

From John D. Rockefeller Jr and the Employment Representation Plan to Samuel Gompers and the modern Business Union, the author traces the company-unionization of the trade union movement in North America, analyzes its progressive integration into the state apparatus and exposes the betrayal of the rank and file by the union hierarchy.

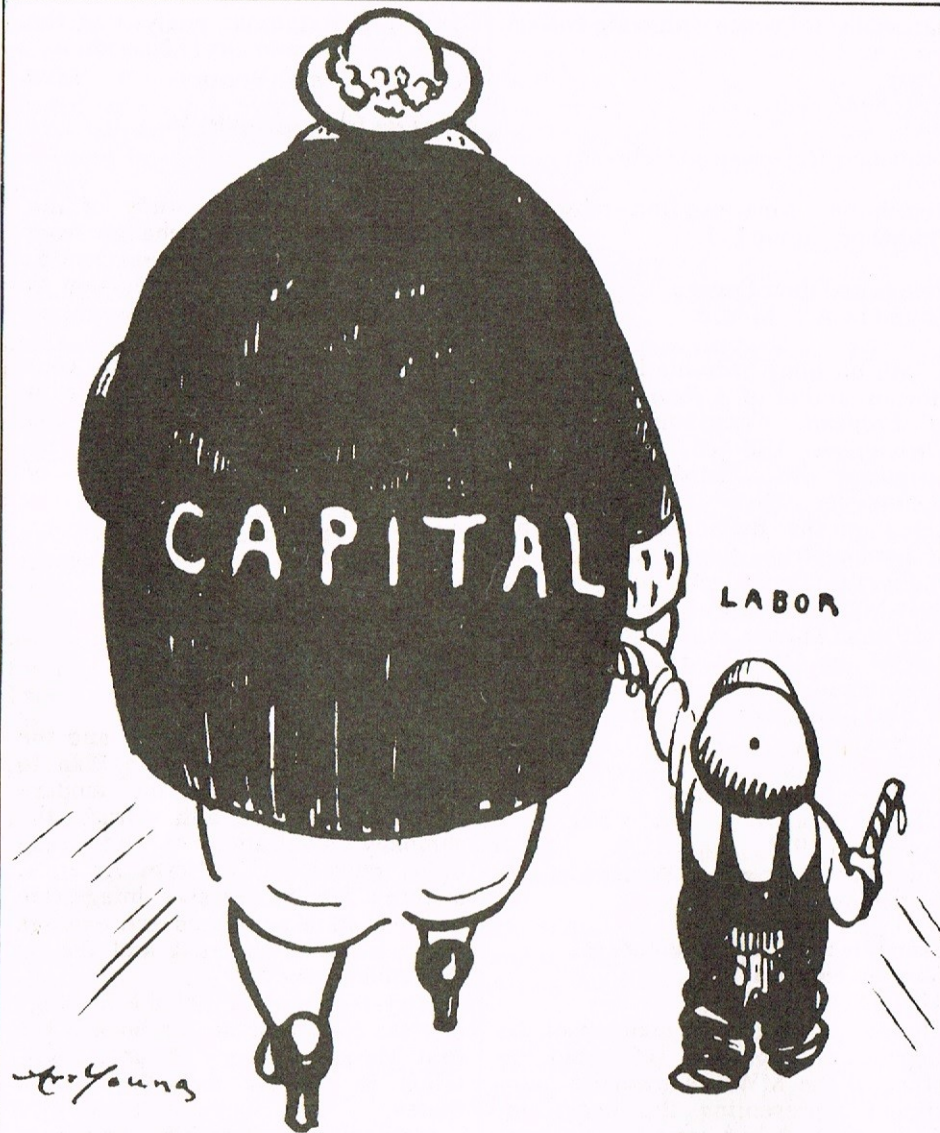
A systematic study of the ideology of class collaboration, the book is the first Marxist analysis of labor legislation in Canada and the United States.

Includes a working bibliography of books, articles, legislation and court judgements.

Illustrated with pictures and political cartoons.

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## HISTORY

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48pp A5 50p  
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Distributor: PDC



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Publisher: Monthly Review

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Brian Simon, Professor of Education at the University of Leicester, has written the Foreword.

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### Lunatic Ideas

How the Newspapers Treated Education during 1977

School without Walls and the Corner House Bookshop

"Sack School Dunces!" "Give the teachers a lesson" "School rules to be obeyed".



# DAILY DISTORTER

No. 12, 196 Anyday September 1977

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By a distraught distorter

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*Could not page 22*

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Anger was mounting tonight as heads

*Could not page 22*

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TOP FOOTBALL MANAGER reveals how journalists posed a rowdies at a football match, but not a cheer for their paper. This was stamped out immediately.

# SACK of the century NEWSPAPER DUNCES!

## A caning for Journalists

### FALLING STANDARDS IN NEWSPAPERS EXPOSED

by a Distorter Reporter

DISTURBING ALLEGATIONS WERE MADE today about "falling standards" among journalists. A painstaking committee of enquiry, based on the Corner House Bookshop have issued a report under the title *Lunatic Ideas* which has shocked and alarmed journalists. "We are shocked and alarmed by the rapid decline in standards and discipline among journalists", they say. "This cannot be allowed to continue. Urgent action is needed to halt this worrying trend."

The report reveals some ugly facts:  
● 9 out of 10 journalists did not know what day of the week it was.  
2 out of 10 did not know what year it was.

● 85% of journalists could not remember which newspaper they worked for.

● 2 out of every 3 journalists found it impossible to write a story without mentioning sex or violence at least 6 times. One reporter did actually write a story mentioning sex only once, and he was working for *The Times Daily*.

● An editor was knocked to the ground by violent journalists stampeding to get a sneak preview of this report.



A Shocked one

inside

Are headmasters good in bed? Four teachers reveal all, page 3

Enter the "How good a lover is your head of department competition. Win a night out with the Prominent Education Personality of your choice, page 4

Violence among deputy headmistresses on the increase? Are the parents to blame? page 5

Opium ring in nursery school discovered. "Four year olds" out of their minds on the "evil weed" say headmistress. "I haven't seen the like this since I last read the *Land Blyton* story."

*Lunatic Ideas*  
How the newspapers treated education during 1977  
an analysis by School Without Walls and The Corner House Bookshop  
1977 publication price £1.50  
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During 1977 there was a Green Paper on education, there was an HMI's report on 'Gifted children', there was concern about educational 'standards' and there were generous doses of sex-and-violence. This book analyses the way the national dailies presented, and indeed helped to create, the issues. It looks at their style, their language and their approach, with detailed chapters on *The Mirror*, *The Express*, *The Telegraph* and *The Guardian*.

80pp Paperback £1.75  
ISBN 0 9506332 0 8 10" x 8" September  
Publisher: Corner House Bookshop  
Distributor: PDC

### Socialist Review

Forthcoming issues will include: 'Marxism and Contemporary Social Theory' by Stanley Aronowitz; 'Democracy at the Threshold' by Harry Boyte; 'The French Elections' by Diana Johnstone; 'The UMW and the strike: a Historical Perspective' by Dave Marshall; and 'Psychotherapy and Politics in American Culture' by Eli Zaretsky. Also reviews and articles on political parties, trade unions, and social movements in the United States.

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Subscriptions: Individual UK £2.00; elsewhere £2.50. Institutions UK: £4.00; elsewhere: £5.50/\$11.00.

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### The Second Slump

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World and the communist countries. He explains why the economic recovery has been so weak, and ends with suggestions for a socialist alternative to present government policies.

Hardback £6.50/\$12.95  
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**The Bard of Savagery: Thorsten Veblen and Modern Social Theory**  
John P. Diggins

This important critical book is the first full-length study of the life and thought of one of the most baffling figures in contemporary intellectual history. Veblen embarrassed and confused social theorists of his day by evading categorisation either by discipline or by ideology. In particular he refused to see capitalism as a legitimate and rational stage in man's development, but rather as a ritual habit of barbaric primitive societies. The book offers an estimate of Veblen's central problem: the wealth and 'conspicuous consumption' of a culture supposedly devoted to the ethic of work and the value of efficiency.

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Nicos Poulantzas is also the author of *Political Power and Social Classes*, *Fascism and Dictatorship*, *Classes in Contemporary Capitalism* and *The Crisis of the Dictatorships*, all published by New Left Books.

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Leslie Benson

This book introduces students to the writings of Marx and Weber on social class and assesses the relevance of their work for contemporary western societies. Particular care is taken to clarify Weber's conceptual scheme in the light of recent scholarship and to bring out the key issues dividing the two theorists concerning the place of class conflict in the development of capitalism. Separate chapters deal with the end-of-ideology controversy, the value systems of the middle and

## THEORY

working classes, and with the question of the social sources of working-class radicalism.

The author is a lecturer in sociology at Massey University, New Zealand.

208pp Paperback £2.95  
216 ISBN 0 422 76580 5 216 x 138mm  
Publisher: Tavistock

**Marxian Theories of the State:  
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Frankel argues for a study of the actual situation and functioning of capitalist states. The writings of the "founding fathers" of Marxism were developed in particular circumstances and for polemical purposes, and do not provide a sufficient foundation for the analysis of the state which participates in the economy and social life of the nation on the scale now experienced. Frankel considers questions left unsolved by Lenin and Gramsci, has critical remarks to make upon Althusser, Poulantzas, Balibar, Mandel and Milliband and accepts some of Habermas, O'Connor, Offe and others.

68pp Pamphlet A\$1.50  
ISBN 0959818111 July '78  
Publisher: Arena Publications Association

**Marxism and Materialism:  
A Study in the Marxist Theory  
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David-Hillel Ruben

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## THEORY

### Theoretical Review

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Publisher: Theoretical Review		

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November	
Publisher: Methuen	

### The Radical Tradition

Richard Gombin

The author traces the recurrent attitudes in the history of the European revolutionary movement which have criticised socialist and communist parties for their authoritarian and

bureaucratic tendencies, and which have stressed spontaneity and decentralisation as the correct basis from which to change society. The central section of this study examines the concepts of workers' councils as they emerged in several countries after World War I, and from this comparative study develops the idea of a council communism as opposed to a party communism.

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Publisher: Methuen		September

### The Psychology of Imagination

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This book was originally published in France in 1940 under the title of *L'Imaginaire*, and it was the first of Sartre's serious philosophical works. Specifically designed as an essay in phenomenology (it was Sartre who first introduced Husserl's work to France), it is both fascinating in its own right and a valuable introduction to many of the ideas which were to become central to Sartre's later philosophical writings: his ideas about the nature of imagination, of man's freedom, and of nothingness.

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Publisher: Methuen		September

### Cienfuegos Press Anarchist Review

No 4

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### Marcuse, Dilemma and Liberation: A Critical Analysis

John Fry

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Monetarism, the "New Liberalism" and anarchism; Anarchists in Mexico (2) Praxedis G. Guerrero; Contributions to the History of Anarchism — *Ruta and Anarchismo*; Flavio Costantini: Artist of Anarchy; Pampas Life — The Tragic Week of 1919, Argentina; Two Workers Experiences in Russia, Gabriel Miasnikov and Mollie Steimer; Gregory Maximoff; The Origins of the Anarchist Movement in China (revised with new introduction); Asian Anarchism in Western Languages; Anarchism in Chinese Political Thought; Interview with Pa Chin; The Poetry of Philip Levine; The Stammheim Deaths; Nikola Tesla — *A Name on a Light Bulb*; *Inside the Belly of the Amerikan Dream*, Emily Harris; Pimpnel Howard and the Anarchists; The Donald Duck/Joseph Goebbels Prize for Liberal Objectivity and over 100 major book and pamphlet reviews, plus index.

188pp	A4	£2.90 (+60p p&p)
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### Lying: Moral Choice in Public and Private Life

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# the frankfurt school

The *Frankfurt School*, first established in Weimar Germany as the Institute for Social Research, spent the war years in New York and California, dispersing in the late 40's. Certain key members were invited by the West German government to return after the war, and the School was thereby reconstituted at the University of Frankfurt during the early '50s.

Max Horkheimer, who became director of the Institute in 1930, was primarily responsible for assembling a multi-faceted group of academics, most of whom were relatively unknown at the time outside Germany. It was he who maintained the continuity of the School during the years of exile.

The first generation of the School included, notably, Theodor Adorno, a philosopher with a peculiar musical sensibility; Herbert Marcuse, who emerged from the Heideggerian tradition to develop his own brand of 'phenomenological' Marxism; Friedrich Pollock, a political economist; Ernst Bloch, whose philosophical works cover a wide spectrum; Franz Neumann, a legal scholar; and Walter Benjamin, literary critic. The second generation is dominated by Jurgen Habermas, whose main interest lies in the methodology of the social sciences. Claus Offe, another economist, and Alfred Lorenzer, a psychological theorist are two other key members of the School of the post-war years.

Horkheimer, Adorno and Marcuse rejected the Marxian model of the philosophy of history and also Hegelian logic. Realising that technology had become the prop rather than the destructive agent of Capitalism they focussed on the disparity of the concepts of reason, seeking to replace the critique of political economy by that of instrumental reason. Marcuse made a revision of the Freudian theory of deferred gratification, introducing the notion of 'surplus repression', positing that instrumental reason is potentially self-undermining. Benjamin and Adorno saw the aesthetic imagination as a liberating faculty, simultaneously regarding art as a true source of critical insight while realising the possibility of its adulteration through ideology. There is difficulty inherent in the language of the texts of both Adorno and Benjamin — they seem extremely averse to any kind of 'system' in their different ways: Adorno finds expression in the aphorism, epigrammatic essay and other short forms, whilst Benjamin's literary form is labyrinthine.

The confrontation between critical rationalism and critical theory ranges over many areas — not merely positivism, but also over ideas of objectivity and value freedom, the nature of theory formation and the 'role' of the social sciences. Taking the Popper/Adorno confrontation as an example — for Popper contradiction is logical, arising from existing knowledge and existent fact; for Adorno it is not an epistemological problem, but a condition of the social world. Critical theory is not to be understood as another sociological theory on the same level as functionalism, symbolic interactionism, ethnomethodology etc, but as a theoretical mediation

interested in the present as part of the historical process inextricably constituted by both the past which provides the structure for the present, and a future which determines its dynamic. 'Interest', for Habermas, cannot be experienced as such; it is an interest in which no-one may be interested in any empirically demonstrable fashion. He claims that the basis of critical theory is inherent in the structure of social activity which it seeks to analyse. Social facts are frozen segments of a living process which includes the future as well as the past and the present. In Horkheimer's terms there is no formula which fixes once and for all the relation between individuals, society and nature.

Critical Theory is peculiar to a particular cultural tradition — stemming from Kant, through Hegelian Marxism and hermeneutics. Its appeal to the 'New Left' of today is based firstly on its methodology — critique as reflection on the conditions of knowledge of the social world, and secondly on its political viewpoint — critique as an analysis of the constraints imposed by the historically variable structures of the social world. However, the Frankfurt School as such, unable to realise its original project of mediating the destruction of domination has now collapsed into its academic appearance. Habermas's whole effort may be seen as an attempt to achieve academic respectability for a critical theory which has lost its critical character with the rejection of the analysis concerning science and technology as new modes of domination.

**Diana Gravill**

*Diana Gravill buys books on philosophy for Compendium Bookshop, 234 Camden High Street, London NW1.*

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Max Horkheimer	<i>Critical Theory</i> <i>Critique of Instrumental Reason</i>	Seabury
Horkheimer & Adorno	<i>Dialectic of Enlightenment</i> <i>Aspects of Society</i>	Seabury Heinemann
Herbert Marcuse	<i>Studies in Critical Philosophy</i> <i>Soviet Marxism</i> <i>Reason and Revolution</i> <i>One Dimensional Man</i> <i>Eros and Civilization</i> <i>Negations</i> <i>Essay on Liberation</i> <i>Counter-revolution and Revolt</i> <i>Five Essays</i>	New Left Books Routledge Abacus Penguin Allen Lane
Ernst Bloch	<i>Karl Marx</i> <i>The Philosophy of the Future</i>	Herder & Herder
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	<i>Understanding Brecht</i> <i>Baudelaire</i>	New Left Books
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<i>Telos</i>		
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(12) Trent Schroyer	The Dialectical Foundations of Critical Theory	
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(14) Susan Buck- Morr s	Dialectics of Adorno	
(15) Horkheimer	The Authoritarian State	
(16) Marcuse	On the Concept of Labour	
(19) Adorno	Theses against Occultism	
Adorno	The Stars down to Earth	
Habermas	On Social Identity	
Jean-Francois Lyotard	Adorno as the Devil	
(20) Adorno	Lyric Poetry and Society	
Martin Jay	The Frankfurt Critique of Mannheim	
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Marcuse	On the Problem of the Dialectic	
(28) Adorno	Alienated Masterpiece—Missa Solemnis (1959)	
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# Dissidents trials?

Dissidents on trial refused lawyers of their choice, allowed only court-appointed lawyers; school pupils recruited by Interior Ministry to spy on classmates; actors and booksellers arrested and charged with slandering the State; border searches for politically suspect books; secret police records on job applicants systematically supplied to private employers; suspected terrorists held in total isolation for 30 days, renewable (if authorities believe this may avoid danger to someone's life, safety and freedom); questionable books removed from library shelves; lawyers put on trial for supporting their political defendant clients; dawn raids on political bookshops, pamphlets seized; outspoken authors subjected to press campaigns as enemies of the constitution; historical documentation seized, as 'furthering readiness to accept use of violence'; 4000 people denied jobs or sacked from public service because of their political opinions.

The Soviet Union? South Africa? Paraguay? Northern Ireland, even? It could be any of these, or many other countries that will be brought to mind, but in fact all these things have taken place recently in that bastion of Western democracy and freedom, the Federal Republic of Germany.

Books, pamphlets and papers, and their authors, publishers and sellers, have been particularly hard hit in the wide-ranging assaults on freedom in the Federal Republic over the past three years.

In November 1975, the Munich publishing house, Trikont-Verlag, together with the homes of some of its workers and its printer's premises, were raided by police in search of Bommi Baumann's book, *How It All Began*. As well as this book and address lists, business files, etc, the police seized the Socialist Patients' Collective book, *Make Illness into a Weapon*. Two days later, bookshops throughout the country were raided for the Baumann book, on the grounds of its 'glorification of violence', contrary to para 140 of the Penal Code. An international solidarity campaign was launched, and the book was later re-published under the joint imprint of some 350 publishers and individuals. In the trial in October 1976, the publishers were acquitted, the judgement stating that the book was a pacifist milestone which 'could challenge the thinking of comrades who are still radicals'.

In 1977, two students, hired by a private company to drive a vanload of books from Berlin, were stopped at the Helmstedt border into West Germany, arrested and charged, in relation to the books, with offences against paras 88a, 125a and 126 of the Penal Code — anti-constitutional incitement to violence and to armed breach of the peace, among other things. The drivers were released a few hours later, but a judge issued a seizure order for the books, finding them of 'a largely left-extremist content'. The seized books included Bettelheim's *Class Struggles in the USSR*, Franz Mehring's historical classic, *German History of the 18th & 19th Centuries*, a biography of film-maker Joris Ivens, and a book by the





George Grosz 'A writer is he?' c. 1935

President of Tanzania, Julius Nyerere. The books were eventually released a week later, when the judge was forced to recognise that there was, as yet, no law banning 'largely left-extremist' literature, and that, in principle, Article 5 of the Constitution was still valid, with its unequivocal words, 'There is no censorship'.

But para 88a, introduced in May 1976, goes a long way towards denying the strict provision of Article 5. It threatens with imprisonment anyone guilty of 'anti-constitutional support for criminal actions'; not only the author of writings glorifying violence, but anyone who 'disseminates, publicly exhibits, displays, performs, or otherwise makes accessible or produces, procures, supplies, stocks, offers, advertises, praises . . .' — so this includes publisher, printer, wholesaler, dealer, seller, buyer, or a laudatory reviewer. And transport companies whose drivers have neither the time nor the expert knowledge to read their load and judge it by these criteria are likely to shy off accepting loads from 'left' publishers.

Librarians, too, are affected — or fear they may be, with the same result. The directors of the America Memorial Library in Berlin, one of the largest publicly accessible libraries in the world, examined the new criminal laws for possible consequences for their lending practice. Ostensibly for the protection of employees, who would be held responsible in law, they issued secret instructions. Mindful of the liberal tradition of the house 'our duty will be, first and foremost, to operate censorship as generously as possible, in the spirit of guaranteed freedom of opinion and information'. In this spirit, the following books are to be removed from the open shelves and put into store: 'commercially available, but either completely unannotated or inadequately annotated writings from Eastern and Western publishers with national socialist, socialist and communist ideas' (*sic*).

Printers, too, are vulnerable. In October 1977, four Berlin printers were arrested and charged with supporting a terrorist conspiracy. The charge was directed against the unknown author, publisher and distributor of the periodical *Info-BUG*. BUG stands for Berliner undogmatische Gruppen. The paper is a feature of the anarchist scene, advertising happenings and printing any kind of propaganda that comes its way. In theory it has no editors, it just happens. The four printers are members of Agit-Kollektiv, a loose printing organisation which serves all kinds of causes, among them *Info-BUG*. They are charged on the grounds that they identify with the content of what they print. Yet the diversity of the groups for whom they work makes such a claim ludicrous: electricians union, postal workers union, humanist union, tenants groups, neighbourhood councils, youth clubs, various Evangelical Church groups, bars, college groups, women's centre, citizens action groups, and many others. Since their arrest last October, three of the printers have been kept in custody and treated as maximum security risks, and the trial has only recently started.

Ever since 1975, there have been repeated series of early dawn raids on left bookshops (and the homes of their workers), leading to endless arrests, most followed by release without charge (although one bookseller was jailed for two years in 1977 on account of two books found in his stock). In September 1976, the VLB (Left Book Trade Association) put together and published an extensive documentation of these police actions, under the title *88a in Action — or how to burn books without getting your fingers dirty*. In March and April 1977 there were further raids by massive numbers of police: invoking para 88a, they seized the documentation on para 88a, and brought prosecutions against some 40 publishers and booksellers for publishing and distributing the pamphlet. The co-owner of one bookshop has been told, in a summons from the Chief of Police, that he is



'suspected . . . of supporting the criminal conspiracy VLB (Left Book Trade Association)'. Until then, the VLB's only criminal association had been the police raids against some of its members.

Books by the Nobel prize-winner Heinrich Boll have not yet been seized, although, with other intellectuals, he has been called, in parliament and the press, a 'spiritual accomplice of the anarchists': he is accused of justifying violence in his book, *The Lost Honour of Katharina Blum*. Other books have not escaped so lightly. In August 1976, police in Landshut, acting on an anonymous tip-off, made an armed raid on a bookshop to seize *Haymarket 1886: the German Anarchists of Chicago*, a paperback from Wagenbach-Verlag in Berlin (denounced in parliament as a producer of subversion, revolution and terror texts for whom the freedom of expression guaranteed in Article 5 of the Constitution could not apply). This historical documentation quoted a reader's letter from the American anarchist newspaper *Alarm* from the year 1885 which, in the editor's words, 'had described the picture of the bomb-throwing anarchists as a famous-infamous hymn to dynamite'. This quotation is in practically every standard work on anarchism, but a judge found it illegal. The book was later released by the provincial court, but mainly on the grounds of procedural irregularities: the court specifically endorsed the judge's view of its contents as 'furthering the readiness of many readers of a similar outlook to assent to appropriate use of violence . . .'

Even without judicial decisions, the State's actions have their effect. While small publishers are prosecuted, large publishers, out of fear, are already operating self-censorship. Luchterhand-Verlag, for example, deleted a passage of dialogue from their translation of Régis Debray's novel, *The Individualist*, in which he had ironically described the production of an explosive.

These measures affecting the printed word have to be seen in the wider context of which they are only a part. The administration of the Federal Republic was fatally flawed from the start, when the popular wish to remove all remnants of Nazi power after 1945 clashed with the Western Allies' requirement of a strong anti-communist bulwark against the Soviet threat. In 1950, the so-called 'Adenauer Decree' listed a number of 'un-constitutional' organisations, and recommended the screening and sacking of public employees who were alleged members or sympathisers of any such organisation: this measure was used mainly against communists, thousands of whom lost their jobs even before the KPD (Community Party) was formally banned in 1956. In 1972, the practice was greatly widened, with the 'Radicals Decree' which legalised political screening of applicants to the public service. (In Germany the public service embraces an extremely wide range of jobs, including, for example, teachers, railway workers, post office workers, and doctors.) Between 1972 and 1976, some 800,000 people were investigated by the secret police, and 4000 lost or were denied jobs as a result of 'hearings' in which their political views and activities were measured against the yardstick of 'support for the liberal-democratic basic order'. People are subject to this Berufsverbot, or professional disbarment, for the flimsiest of 'reasons', apart from the obvious one of belonging to, or being said to be associated with, the (now legal) communist party. Among reasons given have been signing petitions against Berufsverbot; having a husband who is a communist; flyposting posters against the abortion law; travelling to the German Democratic Republic; having one's car seen parked near where left-wing groups hold meetings; openly criticising school administration. The Russell Tribunal examined these loyalty hearings in depth earlier this

year, and pointed out their effect, not only those directly involved, but on others who may shy away from any form of protest or political activity for fear of getting a fatal black mark on the enormous secret police computer files.

Given their historical background, it is not surprising that Berufsverbote, para 88a, and the still rapidly-increasing powers of surveillance used by the police are being directed against the left rather than the right. The very authorities who introduced and carry out these measures inevitably tend to come from the more authoritarian, conformist German tradition, and all too many who came to power after 1945 retained their Nazi sympathies. Little or no action is taken by these authorities to stop, for example, the open sale of swastika badges — outlawed by the Constitution — the wearing of blackshirt uniforms, or the dissemination of anti-semitic publications. And in one of the extremely rare cases of a Berufsverbot 'hearing' involving a member of the extreme right-wing NPD (National Party), the Mannheim court stated that 'there was nothing in the structure, programme or declarations of the NPD which is hostile to the Constitution'. Little wonder that the NPD member was confirmed in his job, when a judge in another case, in the Administrative Court of Ansbach, Bavaria, in July 1977, laid down that 'anyone who wishes to be fully established in the public service must be a convinced anti-communist': the applicant, a member of the German Peace Union, could not be regarded as hostile to the Constitution, but lost on the ground that he was clearly not sufficiently alive to the dangers of communism, since he had worked with communists in the peace movement.

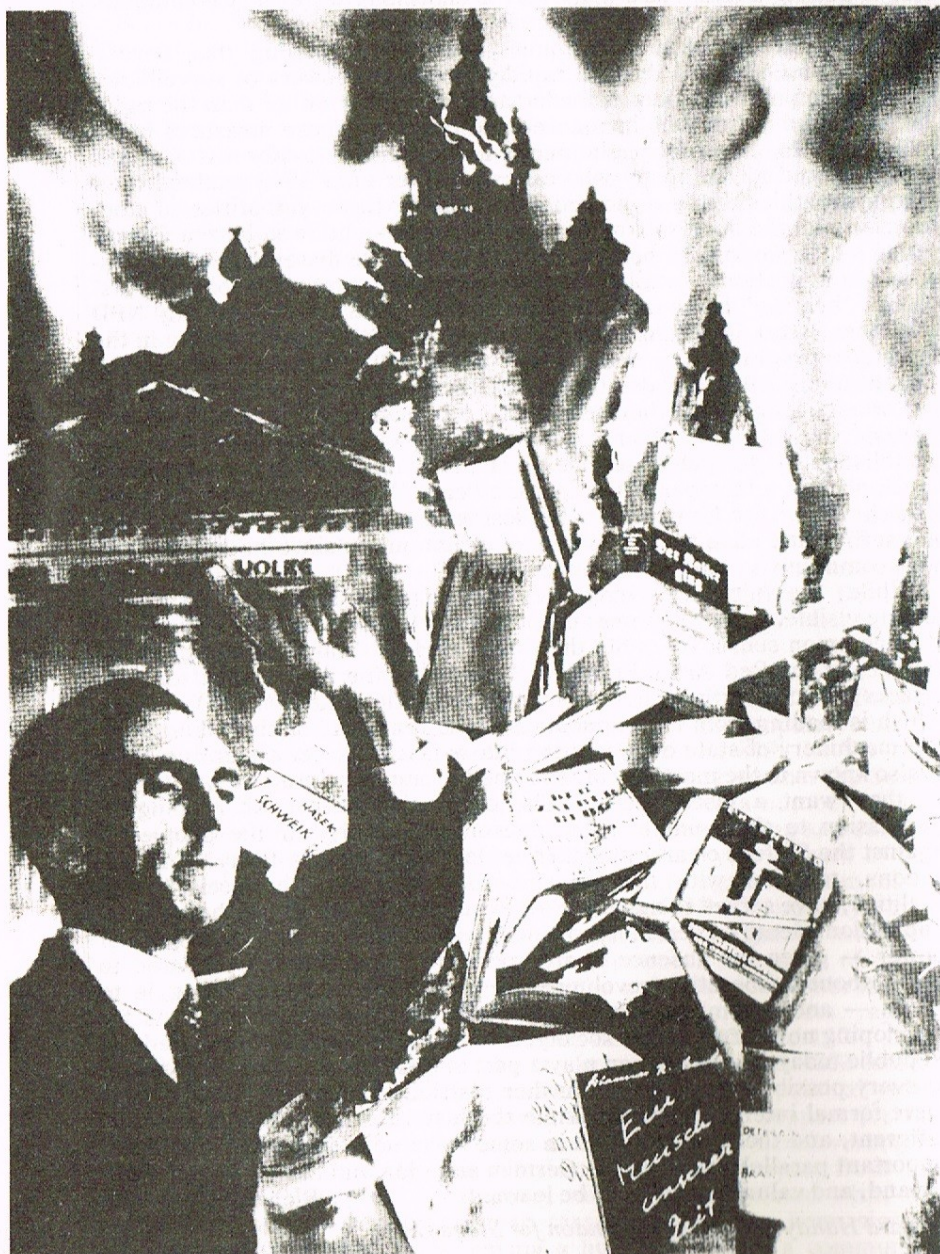
While the historical roots of the State's authoritarianism are clearly visible, its development is not taking place in a vacuum. 'Everyone with common sense,' to quote the words of Horst Mahler, an imprisoned founder of the Red Army Fraction, 'knows that the most recent terrorist attacks are accelerating a development in the Federal Republic of Germany which is leading from the elimination of the remnants of civil liberties to the machinery of state degenerating into a fascist power apparatus. This is also known to the members of the armed groups who practice this terror: so they want a fascist state.' The calculation that a sharpening of oppression to the point of fascist terror will finally stir the people up against the State is clearly mistaken, at least in Germany today. Terrorist actions, together with the law-and-order policy of the social-liberal coalition, have served to make the overwhelmingly majority of the working population identify even more strongly with the State and its organs of power — given the absence of any social force capable and prepared to bring about a liberating revolution. Given this context, the struggle to retain — and regain — dwindling civil liberties, as a minimal basis for developing new forms of free society, is of major importance in the Federal Republic today. Outsiders can play a part in this, by maintaining pressure at every possible point against further restrictions on liberty. Nor is this mere formal internationalism. While the historical backgrounds are very different, and the circumstances in some ways not so extreme, there are important parallels between the German situation and that of Britain, and Ireland, and valuable lessons to be learned.

Richard Handyside

Richard Handyside works in London for Stage One.



## DURCH LICHT ZUR NACHT



Also sprach Dr. Goebbels: Laßt uns aufs neue Brande entfachen, auf daß die Verblendeten nicht erwachen!

John Heartfield 'Through Light to Night' (19 May 1933)

## we won't be terrorised out of existence

Five years ago, on March 15th, 1973, in Brixton, London, a black bookshop, named Unity Bookshop, was firebombed endangering the lives of persons who lived above it.

Four years later, on August 10th, 1977, another black bookshop, which happened to bear the same name, Unity Books, on the Harrow Road, Harlesden, London, was firebombed and destroyed.

Since the beginning of 1977 a definite pattern has emerged in the systematic attacks against black community and white left bookshops.

### **Bogle L'Ouverture, London**

February 1977

Racist signs — Nigger Out, KKK, Enoch, White Power — were smeared on windows and door; literature of National Party and local telephone number left behind; doors, windows and fascia board smeared with paint.

### **Atlas Books, London**

February 1977

Brick thrown through window.

### **Bookmarks, London**

March/June 1977

KKK and NF stickers pasted; obscene fascist telephone calls; locks gummed up with gumming material

### **Centreprise, London**

June 1977

Shopfront covered in racist slogans; doors damaged.

August 1977

Fire started by pouring inflammable liquid through letterbox; entrance, shelves and books damaged.

### **Unity Books, London**

August 1977

Gutted by firebomb; luckily no loss of life.

### **Cradlewell Books, Newcastle**

March to October 1977

Windows smashed six times; inflammable material pushed through letter box (see *Searchlight* No 30).



#### Fourth Idea, Bradford

August 1977

Windows smashed; received threatening phone call from member of British National Party who said: 'We'll burn you to the ground you Jewish bastard, Heil Hitler.' (see *Searchlight* No 30 and *Race Today* September/October 1977).

#### Mushroom Books, Nottingham

August 1977

Plate glass window smashed by brick; a few days later NF literature pushed through door.

#### New Beacon Books, London

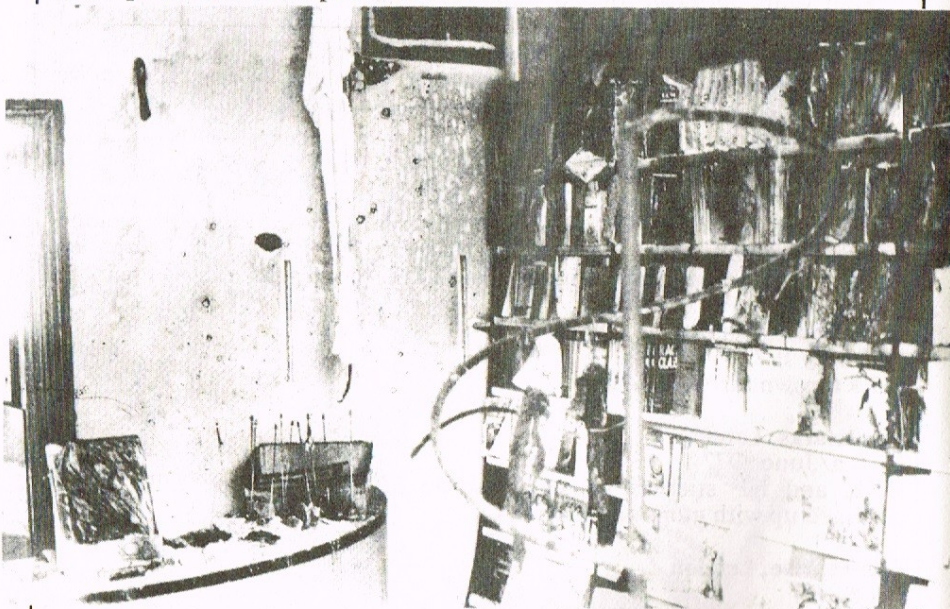
April 1978

Windows broken. NF signs spray painted on windows.

#### Other Bookshop, London

April 1978

Brick wrapped in flaming rag thrown into basement. Luckily someone was on the premises able to put out the fire.



This list of attacks on the bookshops, though formidable, is incomplete and we are still collecting information.

Not only have bookshops been attacked but private homes, business places owned or operated by black people and people from other minorities, meeting premises, cars, persons have been assaulted physically and worse. The killing of Southall student Gurdip Singh Chaggar in 1976 is a reminder.

On December 14th, 1977, the Moonshot Club, which caters for black teenagers in Lewisham, was burned down. Even though the police claimed there was no arson, this report from the *South London Press* December 16th, 1977 speaks for itself:

*'But Asquith Gibbes, Lewisham Senior Community Relations Officer, maintains that it is impossible to exclude a political act of arson at this*

time. 'We expressed our concern to the police about the safety of the Moonshot premises only a few weeks ago, following very disturbing reported comments from the National Front.' Mr Gibbes was referring to a report of an NF meeting in the Ravensbourne, Catford, where a woman supporter had asked Martin Webster 'Why can't some of the NF bother-boys blow up the Moonshot Club?' Mr Webster had replied that the Front did not have any bother-boys. Mr Gibbes said a year ago an incendiary device was thrown at the door of the club. 'If there was any criminal intent in the latest fire then it would be difficult not to infer a racist intent.'

With the growth of the racist and fascist organisations — the National Front, the KKK, etc — there has been an escalation of fascist terror.

What is astounding is the inaction of the police and their failure, together with the other security forces of the state (CID, Special Branch, MI5, MI6, SIS, SAS, etc) in arresting these fascist terrorists.

As far as the bookshops are concerned, the Metropolitan Police have, on almost every occasion, been aggressive while conducting their inquiries. When these attacks have been reported to the police, the questions they ask are: 'Have you any enemies?' 'Do you short-change?' 'Have you published anything?' One senior police officer even suggested that unless the terrorists were caught in the act or in the proximity of the act, it would be difficult to make arrests. Another told Headstart that they would not be able to mount a 24-hour watch guard. They could only give that sort of protection to Buckingham Palace and Downing Street. The sort of protection that Headstart wanted could only be had by their organising it themselves. Of what use then are the intelligence and security services?

The unusual failure of the Police and the Home Office raises the very serious question of complicity between sections of the police and the Nazi-fascist forces in the country.

John Tyndall, chairman of the National Front, is quoted in the *Observer* of September 11th, 1977 as saying: 'Our opponents in the establishment would be quite frightened if they knew how much sympathy we have in the police, up to the rank of inspector.'

He might well have added 'and active supporters among the judiciary' in the light of Judge Neil McKinnon's remarks and summing up in the trial of former National Front leader John Read on January 6th, 1978.

At a public meeting, Read had spoken of 'niggers, wogs and coons' and, referring to the murder of Gurdip Singh Chaggar, had said, 'one down, a million to go'. His 'Lordship' said to Read: 'By all means propagate your views . . . I wish you well.' To the jury he repeated the fascist lies of 'unlimited numbers of immigrants coming into this country' taking the jobs and houses of 'ordinary English folk', and commended Read on having 'had the guts to come forward and stand up in public for the things that he believes in'.

*State Research* No 7 (see p.55) reports an article in the May issue of the National Front journal *Spearhead*. In it Martin Webster complains of a deterioration since December 1977 in relations between the National Front and the police. 'In the course of detailing the changing police attitude, Webster reveals a remarkable instance of past police-NF co-operation. Following an NF complaint that distribution of a leaflet by the Board of Deputies of British Jewry in February 1974 was a breach of electoral law, a Special Branch officer and a Fraud Squad officer were 'engaged in a month's long nationwide investigation.' No prosecution of the Board was made, but local leaflet distributors were taken to court. The Appeal Court later acquitted those charged as the leaflets in question did not actually state 'Don't vote NF'.



The *police*, however, appealed to the House of Lords, 'who ruled that its distribution was unlawful, except where a candidate in a constituency where it was distributed accepted responsibility'. As Webster says: 'Not many people know about the police operation which, with the investigation and all the court actions, must have cost hundreds of thousands of pounds. But it was an historic affair.'

The Home Secretary, Merlyn Rees, and the Home Office have shown total indifference to the seriousness of the terrorists' acts which we have described.

After the first attack suffered in February 1977, Bogle L'Ouverture wrote in April 1977 to the Home Secretary, requesting a meeting with him.

*No reply was received.* Bogle L'Ouverture wrote again. It was then learned that the original letter from them had been 'misplaced' by the Home Secretary. A copy of the original letter was sent immediately. *Again, this has been met with total silence.*

#### BOOKSHOP JOINT ACTION

In September 1977, Soma Books, South London, received a threatening phone call, saying that the bookshop would be burnt down. On that same day a telegram was sent to the Home Secretary which read: 'Urgently demand immediate meeting reference fascist attacks on black bookshops. Soma Books threatened with fire today.' This was signed by the seven bookshops which have now formed Bookshop Joint Action. A similar telegram was also sent to the Commissioner of Police.

The response, once again, has been total silence.

Later that month, ten (10) London bookshops again wrote to the Home Secretary, outlining the escalation of the fascist terror and the danger to life from these attacks and again requested that he meet a delegation. Only the merest card in acknowledgement has been received.

In October 1977, seven (7) of the ten (10) London bookshops, after several meetings, formed the Bookshop Joint Action to continue fighting the dangers of fascist terror to the existence of our shops and cultural centres.

On October 17th, Bookshop Joint Action held a press conference. The publicity that this caused was followed by a flurry of activity from the police. Each one of us was visited by the Crime Prevention Squad. And in each case the onus was put on us, the victims, to protect ourselves, not on the 'upholders of the law' to protect us.

Is the Home Secretary waiting for more deaths, more guttings by fire, more firebombing, before he and the police take this fascist terror seriously?

Is the Home Secretary waiting for a massacre of innocents or a pogrom?

We call on all individuals and organisations, who share a common revulsion at the growing strength of the fascist forces in this country to:

1. Raise this matter within their organisation;
2. Write to the Home Secretary expressing anger and concern about these fascist attacks made on bookshops and his total indifference. Please send copies of letters or telegrams to the Home Secretary to Bookshop Joint Action.

**NO ONE CONCERNED CAN AFFORD TO BE COMPLACENT IN THIS MATTER.**

**NO ONE CAN AFFORD NOT TO BE INVOLVED.**

*Race Today*, 74 Shakespeare Road, London SE24. Subscription £3. Single copies 25p.

*This article is based on a press release from Bookshop Joint Action, c/o Bogle l'Ouverture, 5a Chignall Place, Ealing, London W13.*



John Heartfield 'Millions Stand Behind Me' (16 Oct 1932)



# Socialism in 25 countries

'Actually, Marx's communism contains utopian elements. Basically Marx overlooked the preconditions necessary for communism as well as the unavoidable intermediary steps . . . that is only to say that it is not enough any more to be a Marxist in the traditional sense.' —Rudolf Bahro,

## The crisis of traditional Marxism

A critical analysis of Soviet society should not just be a critique of the social system. Even using analytical categories such as 'the Asiatic mode of production' which Rudi Dutschke reintroduced to the debate is not enough in itself. In his book *Historical Consciousness and the Critique of the Soviet Union* Dany Diner has already pointed out that a historical approach to political ideas is missing from the present debates. More directly one can say that the western left's critique of the Soviet Union suffers itself from the hold of traditionalism which it criticises in the system of the Soviet Union. The critique of East European societies has therefore to be seen simultaneously as a self-criticism of the history of western socialist and workers' movements.

In the West as well as in the East, the social upheavals of the '60s have documented the criticisms of traditional communism: anti-fascist struggles in Spain, May '68 in France, the 'hot autumn' in Italy, the protest movements in West Germany, the movements of the intellectuals in Poland, and the Prague spring of 1968. This historical and political experience does not seem to have been properly considered in the debate about 'socialism as it exists'. The changed historical reality has also had consequences on the theoretical level; more precisely, 1968 was not only a crisis of traditional communism, but also a crisis of traditional marxism as a theory.

This type of criticism has increased over the last ten years. The most important West European Communist parties have had to bring into the open their criticisms of the Soviet Union which had already existed internally. Otherwise their traditional internationalism would have made them into mass-sects. No way has yet been found of relating to the experiences of the protest movements, which have challenged the internal constitution of communism in East and West. In the mass workers' struggles in Poland an attempt was made to resolve the problems between leaders and masses in a practical way. (See the discussions of party leader Cierek). But it is an open secret that democratic centralism as an organisational model for the Communist parties of Spain, France and Italy is in crisis.

It is only with this background that the real consequences of Bahro's attempt at a critique of socialism as it exists becomes clear. They are not limited to the German Democratic Republic and the Soviet Union. When reading *The Alternative* one has to take into account that it has been written in a society which deals with criticism of its society with far less 'repressive tolerance' than does late capitalism. Bahro's point of departure is his critique of socialism as it exists is to take seriously in a theoretical sense this particular form of domination. The socialism that exists is under-

stood by Bahro as a social formation in its own right, that is one that is neither capitalist nor socialist. It is simply stupid to lay down the letter of the law by quoting Marx chapter and verse in view of the historical fact that the expropriation of private property and general emancipation of individuals lie a whole historical epoch apart from each other. For the purpose of everyday class struggle this theoretical insight must force emancipatory social movements to reach a separate identity in the East and in the West. The appearance of Carillo and Berlinguer in East Berlin had a specific political meaning. In his record of his imprisonment, Jurgen Fuchs the communist critic of the German Democratic Republic noted a question of his interrogator: 'Do you think that the SED [Communist Party] should learn from the Euro-Communist parties?' His answer was Yes, it is necessary to have discussion and a change from the policies pursued at present.

In the Madrid declaration of the Communist parties of Spain, France and Italy you can read how the comrades foresee the new society. They demand pluralism of political and social forces; freedom of thought and speech.

## The struggle for republican freedoms

It is in the worst sense ideological and abstract when the left in the West condemns the struggle for republican freedoms as a bourgeois reaction. Once it recognises the necessity for this struggle in Eastern Europe the western left can begin a learning process about its own reality. The formula of 'the dictatorship of the proletariat' represents the concrete experience of political expropriation. The joke that 'capitalism is the domination of people by people, in socialism it is the other way round', which gave Brandt and Brezhnev a big laugh, is only half the truth. Socialism-as-it-exists is a new system of domination which doesn't bring the masses much of an advance to freedom. In the main it gives them a different dependency than that of capital — and in so far as some positive achievements of the capitalist epoch such as republican freedoms get lost in the process, this new dependency is in some senses more oppressive than the old one.

It is not enough however just to criticise the absence of rights in the East. The arguments surrounding 'The committee for the defence or workers rights' in Poland and the 'Charter '77 movement' in Czechoslovakia show that the process of fighting for republican freedoms increasingly leads to the formation of concrete social forces. Bahro's book has given us the foundation with which to understand this. Bahro's references to Marx and Lenin on the first 100 pages appear to be a treasury of quotations but in fact lay the ground for a critique of traditional marxism and a reconnection to the critical and revolutionary content of marxist theory. The massive rejection of Marxism-Leninism in Eastern Europe represents a resistance to a theory which has become an instrument of domination. Bahro's critique of the social formation of socialism-as-it-is makes it possible, theoretically at least, to liberate historically and critically the categories of historical materialism from the prison of being a legitimization theory.

## On the role of the collective worker

Under the present conditions in the countries where socialism exists, the concept of the proletariat has lost its meaning. The foundation of the identity of the proletariat is its fighting opposite the bourgeoisie. The traditional proletariat loses its identity as well as the bourgeoisie after the abolition of private ownership of the means of production. The formula 'capitalism without capitalists' is in fact only a metaphor for the evident fact that alienated labour still exists.



However the new social formations cannot be understood in terms of the categories of the past. Even in the capitalist West we realised in the '60s that a simple return to Marx only helps us to describe a changed situation in terms of old and abstract concepts which lead to sectarianism and the 'fetishism of the 40 blue volumes'. It is not only in the Federal Republic of Germany that debates within the protest movement changed with a changed social relationship between the intelligentsia and the working class. There was a rejection of the rigid view that 'production' was the main area in the collective struggle for individual emancipation.

'With the increasing socialisation of capital and productive labour and the scientific production of technology, the industrial proletariat must be seen to include people on the edges of the work process. The proletariat as traditionally defined represents less than ever the totality of productive labour. Even if you make an extreme distinction between mental and manual labour, mental labour can no longer be treated as an idealistically elevated mirror image of abstract work. It cannot be seen as a bourgeois appropriation of culture or a petty-bourgeois way of organising the scientific process. Mental labour represents a significant part, in an organised and collective way, of proletarian class consciousness and the organisation of the political class.' (Krahl, 1969, *Constitution and Class Struggle*)

Relating to this restructuring of the collective worker in late capitalism, Bahro argues that 'their reality can no longer be described according to the traditional criteria of the class struggle. The new consequences of the social structure in the industrial societies of late capitalism always find a related equivalent in those countries where socialism exists which gives a better explanation than traditional class analysis of the state of the forces of production. Our descriptions are far more adequate because our social structure is precisely the subjective 'modus vivendi' of the modern forces of production. Our society represents the social structure of the socialised collective worker and is therefore in advance of present capitalism'. Bahro interprets the western student movements as expressing 'the potential interests of the whole of the working class.'

#### **Emancipation: abolition of alienated work and the division of labour**

The abolition of domination and exploitation cannot only be linked to the removal of private property. Furthermore, the concept of classes cannot be developed solely from the relation of private property to the means of production. Rather, they develop from the process of labour whose history is much older than that of private property and the abolition of which, even after the removal of private property, is the world historical duty of communism. Whereas in late capitalist countries there is a need to develop the dialectic between the traditional structure of production relations and the creation of the collective worker, in the countries where 'socialism' exists the contradiction between the productive collective worker and the hierarchical and dominating organisation of the way of working and living becomes of direct importance.

Bahro reminds us of three historical hangovers from older forms of capitalism domination which we do not get rid of through the abolition of private property. They are the exploitation and oppression of women in the patriarchal family structure, that is domination by men. There is also the domination of the town over the country and the exploitation and oppression of manual workers by brain workers. In this way Bahro reaches theoretically the kernel of emancipation which traditional Marxism pushed out of the labour movement by concentrating on the relation between labour and capital. The traditional labour movement has imposed a difficult heritage with a purely tactical relationship to other social forces, a mechan-

istic pattern of allegiances with other political organisations, the integration of women into the goals of the Party and Trade Union politics, and the domination of the working class by intellectuals or intellectualising labour movement leaders. In late capitalism, these conflicts have given rise to new emancipatory movements outside the classical labour movements. This makes absurd even the idea of a revolution by the oppressed working class in the old sense. With this background Bahro develops the new dimension of social change which for over ten years we have been following in the West: 'a union of all real socialists which articulates itself as a qualitatively different subject than the working class'.

For the societies where 'socialism' exists Bahro formulates a programme for a cultural revolution (not only in the narrow sense of the Chinese one). He develops this out of the contradiction between the official explanation of the subjective forces of production and the tight apparatus of control through the state and party. 'The emancipatory interests have to be organised into the subject of the coming transformations. Empirically speaking this subject consists of the energetic and creative elements in all strata of society, that is all those people where the desire for emancipation is dominant or at least plays a significant part'.

#### **Bahro's Leninism**

The only traditional thing in Bahro's arguments are his ideas on organisation, he only knows the party. This conception has to be in conflict with his theoretical starting points. The realisation that emancipation is the most important thing leads to a fear in the old cadres that these interests could get out of control. A correction of focus is inevitable in the Democratic Republic of Germany, for their only large-scale formative experience was the struggle which established their state. In dealing with the Polish revolts of the '70s, Bahro lays too much stress on their lack of results, without seeing that for a new historical force rebellions are necessary to build experience. On the other hand, in his analysis of the emancipation of individuals he stresses the oppression of women, but at the same time he cannot resist criticising unorganised 'hopeless and uptight ideological rebellion'. In making this criticism I am not attacking Bahro personally, though this is a blockage he shares with people in the West. In a society where all non-conformist movements are nipped in the bud, revolutionary theoreticians are condemned to work in confinement. This leads to the division of revolutionary theory from everyday life and makes it seem impossible for theory to be applied. The consequence of this is for judgements to become increasingly abstract.

Bahro's basically Leninist conception of organisation has political significance in the conditions of the Democratic Republic of Germany. It is an attempt to regain a connection with a truly revolutionary movement, that is one which actually makes a fundamental change in society. The fact is that everything has remained essentially the same and that desires for emancipation are repeatedly pushed aside into the airy regions of art and literature. Bahro's suggestion of an emancipatory 'union of communists' for the Democratic Republic of Germany tries to regain contact with the revolutionary tradition. The only legitimation and *raison d'être* of the Democratic Republic of Germany is its anti-fascist integrity. It was not the achievement of a revolutionary struggle, but of an international anti-fascist war, the main burden of which was carried by the Soviet Union. The only independent social revolution took place in Yugoslavia — even the name of Bahro's organisation reminds us of this. But these events are just as much a part of history as the October revolution, whose emancipatory claims have since died out. Bahro's point is not to condemn the Soviet



Union, but to understand that the October revolution was the start of the revolutions of Asia, Africa and Latin America, places where more history has been made in this century than by Europeans.

#### The content of the experience of the October revolution

I do not want to go into the details of a critique of the Soviet Union, much less into a critique of 'socialism-as-it-exists' as a social formation. Politically the central consequence of Bahro's critique is for Western left critics of the Soviet Union. The overwhelming majority of them only see isolated aspects (theories of deformation) or they refer everything back to social and cultural history (such as the Asiatic mode of production). Whereas Bahro argues that the abolition of private property in Russia was the transition from an agrarian to an industrial despotism. In this sense the October revolution was an inspiration for the anticolonial revolutions to take their destiny militarily, economically and politically into their own hands. Russia's Asiatic and colonial history, the tradition of oppressing foreign peoples, and the post-revolutionary isolation have not only determined the particularly despotic character of the Soviet Union, but even today are still being mystified as a 'Stalinist phenomenon'. With his critique Bahro brings us out of the nightmare, which we have suffered for generations, that the claims of the Russian revolutionaries have something in common with the reality of the Soviet Union. From an eastern perspective Bahro makes clear that emancipation is not only to break with past models and prototypes, but also to have trust in one's own strength. Large sections of the new left paid homage to traditionalism when they exchanged the Soviet model for the Chinese one. When we speak of socialism in no country, what we mean is that the social revolutions since the October revolution have begun to create the preconditions for global socialism through the most painful and bloody deviations, but under no circumstances are they the model for the reality of a future society. 'We no more need models than the masses need leaders!' (Franz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*). We need the removal of the division of labour between men and women, between town and country, and between mental and manual workers in the first, second and third worlds. In this dispassionate sense Rudolf Bahro's communist critique of socialism-as-it-exists puts in front of us the world historical alternative: social emancipation of individuals or a return to barbarism.

Detlev Claussen

*Rudolph Bahro's book The Alternative: a Critique of Socialism as it exists, was first published in Frankfurt last year. Bahro is an economist living in East Germany. He was arrested after the book's publication and has been sentenced to eight years imprisonment. This review first appeared in Links No 95 in January '78. Links, Hohe-Strasse 28, 6050 Offenbach 4, West Germany. Translated by Charles Landry.*

*To be published in October by New Left Books. Details on page p.50*

*To be published in Sweden by Röda Rummet and in the USA by Quadrangle Books.*

*In support of Rudolph Bahro, Socialist Challenge has initiated an 'Open Letter to Honecker' which will be presented to the East German Embassy. All protests should be sent to the Embassy of the German Democratic Republic, 34 Belgrave Square, London SW1X 8QB. Copies to the Defence Committee c/o Gunter Minnerup, 14 Folkestone Road, Copnor, Portsmouth, Hants.*

# the politics of Sexuality

*The Politics of Sexuality in Capitalism* is to be published jointly by the authors and PDC in September this year. The book originally appeared as two pamphlets in 1973/74 as a contribution to the ongoing discussion on sexual politics in the Womens' Liberation Movement. The pamphlets addressed themselves to some of the issues being discussed in the women's movement at that time: the need to see the personal as political; the problem of changing relationships in practice; the links between the nature of sexuality and other features of present day capitalist society; the question of how to theorise personal relationships from a materialist standpoint; and whether or not Freudianism and psychoanalysis contribute to a socialist-feminist understanding of the family.

The book is a straight reprint of the pamphlets. PDC has not edited the material in any way. It has merely put up the money and used its resources to have the original two pamphlets typeset and printed in book form, for the following reasons: pamphlet one was out of print, and number two was disappearing rapidly off the shelves of radical bookshops; PDC is primarily a distributor of radical, feminist, socialist and alternative literature, and as such is in the position to collect a great deal of information on what is, or is not, available in written form in the general area of left politics; one basic criterion for selecting literature for PDC to distribute is whether or not it contributes to *debate* within the left and within feminism; we considered the pamphlets to be an important contribution to the development of an analysis of sexual politics and that their disappearance would be detrimental to that debate. We discussed this with the authors and they agreed to a joint publishing venture.

We are reprinting *Papers on Patriarchy* for similar reasons (see p.4).

There is another reason: for PDC to survive economically and to continue to distribute radical literature, across a larger territory and to a wider readership, we need to increase our turnover if we are not to rely on funding, loans or sweated labour. We need more books, pamphlets and periodicals to distribute. Obviously by creating our own 'turnover' we are looking after our own interests.

There is another reason too: we think 'publishing' is a highly overrated mystified status occupation which needs bringing down to the basic functions it covers, of putting up money and taking risks with it. We do not intend that PDC should become a 'publishing house', but we will keep written material available where we can help to fill gaps.

*The Politics of Sexuality* is a difficult book to read. The authors have had to invent new ways of putting words together to find a way of describing ideas that are difficult to express. The book was written collectively by a group of five (women and men) writing of their own experiences, and theorizing around their personal relationships in an attempt to clarify how individual sexuality is formed as one instance of the general character of social-emotional relations. The book reflects the class position and





George Grosz 'God's Visible Blessing rests upon me' 1921

experience of the writers, as young, childless, heterosexual, middle-class intellectuals, not bound to others by material or family ties. The issues discussed do not relate to working class experience, which would raise very different questions and practical problems. The analysis cannot be generally applied to all classes but the original pamphlets marked a definite step forward in beginning the task of subjecting personal and sexual relationships to materialist analysis.

The following is an example of some of the ideas hammered out in the book.

"A politics of sexuality is a hard thing to begin, because we are within the feelings we want to change; we are also within the ideology surrounding our feelings. It is only by trying to change the relationships within which we feel that we can gradually come to understand the relationships and feelings we are in *now* and have any concrete knowledge of a politics of the family."

The necessity for a *sexual* politics, as a specific part of a politics of the family, is clear; the family is reproduced through the medium of feelings as well as through patterns of consumption; but the way this is *consciously* experienced by people is through their apparently autonomous feelings. The feelings seem unrelated to any social basis, because of the particular way capitalism dissociates the family and all other personal relations from other aspects of society.

Every form of social relations generates a specific type of feeling. The system of social relations within which these feelings occur is not at all transparent. That is why it is difficult to think about sexuality and love. They seem to be irreducible; their concrete relationship with other things is not apparent. The way we feel towards each other is *specific* and determinate. It is hard though not to think that everyone in all ages must have felt these 'human' feelings we feel; not to think that sex is a biologically given instinct which provides basically the same kind of experience but is only more or less suppressed in different societies.

Yet a feeling, just like an idea, can only be felt if the social relations which contain it make it a possible feeling. It is not just the ideology of the age which is produced within the mode of production; the type of feeling is specific and bounded too. It is not just bourgeois morality and conventions that sustain bourgeois sexual practice; it is the very structure of our most intimate and powerful perceptions, emotions and ways of acting.

So, one of our problems in creating a sexual politics is that perceptions and feelings we have feel natural, human, even eternal, as all capitalist relations do. This makes it hard even to *describe* carefully the quality and contradictions experienced in our present and past lives. Yet this is what we have to begin to do if we are to work towards a concrete practice in the sexual struggle, if we are to have even the glimmerings of an idea of a concrete practice which is *socialised and not private*."

Liz Cooper

Liz Cooper works for PDC.

152pp 210 x 133mm

Hardback ISBN 0906423 01 5 £5.95

Paperback ISBN 0906423 00 7 £1.95

The first printing is only enough for UK distribution but single copies will be available mail order for Carrier Pigeon and International Books (addresses inside front cover).



## INTERNATIONAL—AFRICA

### Samora Machel Speaks/Mozambique Speaks

Two speeches by Samora Machel

Two important speeches by Mozambique's President outlining their struggle for socialism by FRELIMO's application of Revolutionary Scientific Thought to post-colonial domestic and international conditions. Introduced by Robert Van Lierop.

48pp 8½" x 5½" Jan '78  
\$1.35  
Publisher: Black Liberation Press

### Upsurge in Africa

David Frankel

A brief introduction to recent history in Africa — the collapse of the Portuguese empire and Haile Selassie in Ethiopia; Cuba's involvement in Angola and Ethiopia; the struggle for Zimbabwe and Namibia. Frankel quotes from Fidel Castro's speeches and US newspaper reports. A US administration official is quoted as saying "It's our general assessment that the mood of the US as a whole is one of reservations about . . . military involvements overseas, and that anything that raises that possibility has to be very clearly justified . . ."

30pp November 75c/40p  
Publisher: Pathfinder Press

### Neocolonialism and Africa in the 1970s

Edited by E.A. Tarabrin

The book examines various aspects of the activity of the neocolonialists, their strategy and tactics in regard to newly independent African states. It exposes the methods of economic and ideological expansion by which the imperialist states seek to preserve their influence and positions in Africa.

The book also deals with the struggle against neocolonialism by the progressive states of the continent.

334pp 1978 £2.25

Publisher: Progress Publishers  
Distributors:  
UK: Central Books  
US: Imported Publications

### Buying Time in South Africa

Counter Information Services

The report examines political developments since 1976 and the growing dominance of the National Party. Sections detail western support for South Africa from Ford and General Motors, International Computers (25% owned by the National Enterprise Board) whose computers are used for the 'pass and influx control' scheme, the IMF and British Leyland.

A section on South African policy in Zimbabwe and Namibia includes an atrocity photograph not given widespread publicity in western media. Also included is a photograph of Bishop Muzorewa in conversation with Andrew Young at the New York Hilton Hotel.

56pp A4 Pamphlet 95p  
ISBN 0903660 19 9  
Publisher: Counter Information Services  
Distributors:  
UK: Pluto Press  
US: Transnational Institute

### Southern Africa/Black America: Same Struggle/Same Fight

Bill Sales

A crucial and penetrating analysis of the political economy of South Africa and its revolutionary developments. Also contains a critique of the responses by the U.S. left on the Angolan struggle for socialism . . . and outlines the necessary course of support from Black America. Illustrated. Poetry. Maps. Glossary. Bibliography.

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Publisher: Black Liberation Press  
July '77

## INTERNATIONAL—AFRICA

### On the Importance of Africa in World History

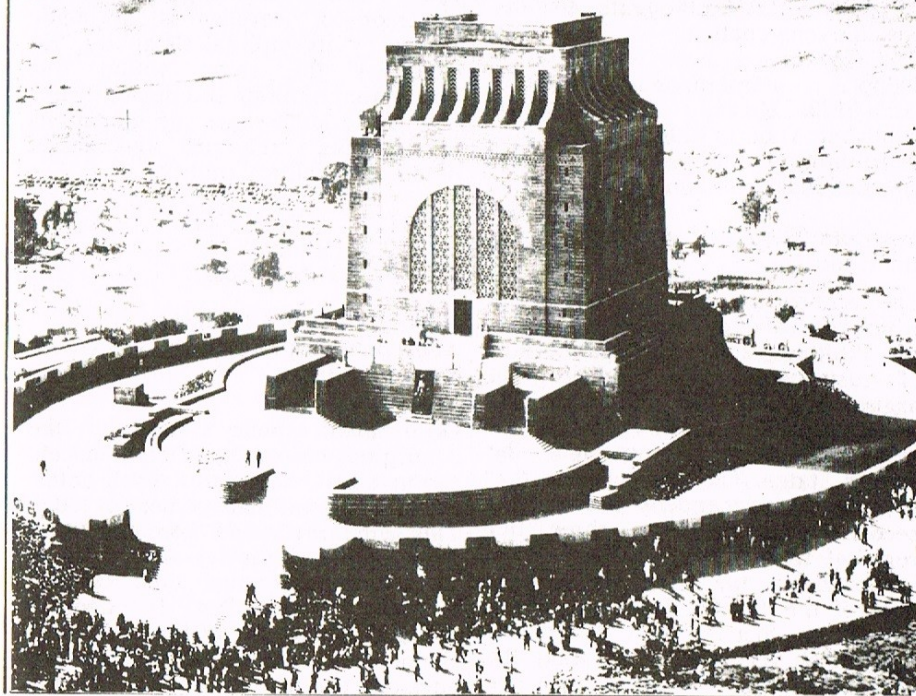
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89pp 8½" x 5½" March '78  
\$2.25  
Publisher: Black Liberation Press

*The Voortrekker memorial, Afrikanerdom's holy of holies.*

## National Dictatorship



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### Comrades Come Rally!

John Sendy

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248pp Paperback \$A9.95  
ISBN 0170052141 July '78  
Publisher: Thomas Nelson Australia  
Distributors: Publisher, or  
International Bookshop

### Australia: The Asia Connection

Jim Hyde

The author documents the way in which the Labour government, led by Mr Whitlam, acted as the renovator of Australia's external policies. He argues that between 1972 and 1975 Australia moved away from a relationship of total dependence upon the United States. The new role was that of a semi-independent partner, as second layer within a three tier regional framework for US-Japanese investment in the Third World countries of the Pacific Basin. The book especially focuses on Australian-Indonesian relations, illustrating the way in which investment in Indonesia

has complemented a strengthening of political and military ties. Both Liberal and Labour governments seek to find a semi-autonomous role in developing multinational programmes within the continuing framework of the US alliance.

152pp Paperback A\$4.50  
ISBN 908-150-01-6  
Publisher: Kibble Books

### Australian Liberalism and National Character

Tim Rowse

This book raises ideological class struggle as an historical problem. It deals with the liberal discourse on consensus and the definition of 'national character', and concerns itself with the work of 'social critics' — educationalists, social scientists, journalists and government advisers — from the early years of federation until the beginnings of 'the Vietnam years'. The author argues that the hegemony of liberalism is only made firmer by its internal flexibility. He describes the shifts within this intellectual tradition and demonstrates how its variants share the limitations of Australia's reformist and liberal democratic political tradition.

304pp Paperback A\$9.50  
ISBN 908-150-02-4  
Publisher: Kibble Books

### Australia's Policy Towards

Aborigines: 1967-1977

Report No 35

Dr H.C. Coombs

Government policy towards the Aborigines has evolved from genocide through assimilation to the self determination or self-management of today. This sympathetic and thorough report stresses the continuity of the Aboriginal community and their cultural interests. Since 1968, Dr Coombs has been Chairman of the Australian Council for Aboriginal Affairs and advisor to two Australian Prime

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Ministers. The introductory statement by Marcia Langton, herself an Aborigine and secretary of the Federal Council of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders, tempers the optimistic tone of government policy with her statement of the necessity for action in a human situation.

20pp A4 Periodical 75p  
ISSN 0305 6252

Publisher: Minority Rights Group

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Map, notes, photos.

124pp Paperback \$3.25/£2.00  
ISBN 0 85345 446 9

Publisher: Monthly Review October

### Reports from China 1953-1976

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131pp Paperback £1.00  
14½cm x 21 cm

Publisher: Anglo-Chinese Educational Institute

Distributors:

UK: Society for Anglo-Chinese Understanding

US: China Books and Periodicals

### China Now

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There have been recent special issues on Medicine in China, Teaching about China and a Workers' Tour.

32pp A4 35p  
Publisher: Society for Anglo Chinese Understanding

### China Since Mao

Charles Bettelheim and Neil Burton

This book contains the 'Letter of Resignation' by Charles Bettelheim, former chairman of the Franco-Chinese Friendship Association. Also a defence of the Chinese leadership since Mao's death by Neil Burton and a longer article by Bettelheim entitled 'The Great Leap Backward'. Thus the issue is joined, in what undoubtedly will be a continuing discussion on the course of the Chinese revolution. Reprinted from the July/August issue of *Monthly Review*.

Hardback £4.40  
Paperback \$2.50/£1.50  
ISBN 085345 475 2 Monthly Review



## INTERNATIONAL—ASIA / EUROPE

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November  
Publisher: Jonathan Cape

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Alexander Dallin and Gail Lapidus

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Publisher: Harvester Press



## INTERNATIONAL—EUROPE LATIN AMERICA

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*Critique* seeks to critically discuss societies claiming to be socialist and to develop a Marxist theory of the transition period. It is published twice yearly. Issue 9 will include articles by D. Filtzer on 'Preobrazhensky and the Problem of the Soviet Transition' and by Jean Monds 'On Krivitsky and Stalinism in the Spanish Civil War'. Issue 10 will include articles by Ivan Szelenyi on 'The Position of the Intelligentsia in the Class Structure of State Socialist Societies' and by Bohdan Krawchenko on 'The National Question in the USSR as a Social Question'.

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352pp Hardback £12.25  
ISBN 253 31591 3 5½" x 8¼"  
Publisher: Indiana University Press  
Distributor: American University  
Publishers Group April '78

### The Alternative in Eastern Europe

Rudolf Bahro

Rudolf Bahro is a Marxist now imprisoned for his view in East Germany.

His aim is to explain the historical foundations of bureaucratic rule in Eastern Europe and to advance a political programme capable of overcoming it. He focuses on the division of labour within class societies, and explores the consequences of the unity of production and communication in societies where information is rigorously confined to ruling officials.

See review on page .

400pp Hardback £9.50  
ISBN 86091 006 7  
November  
Publisher: New Left Books

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24pp 30p  
Publisher: Dawn May 1978

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Oscar Lewis, Ruth M. Lewis and  
Susan M. Rigdon

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624pp Hardback £10.50  
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Publisher: University of Illinois Press  
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Oscar Lewis, Ruth M. Lewis and Susan M. Rigdon

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*The American Historical Review*

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ISBN 0 85345 432 9 October  
Publisher: Monthly Review

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240pp Hardback £8.50 net  
ISBN 435 83362 6 228 x 152mm  
Publisher: Heinemann Educational  
Books July '78

### A House Built on Sand

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gramme are all discussed.

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Publisher: Ithaca Press June '78

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26pp A4 monthly 70p  
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## INTERNATIONAL

to the same houses which they left behind? . . . What is going to be the educational system? . . . What is the meaning of a parliament in a unitary state for Arabs and Jews?"

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Publisher: Ithaca Press and Miftah Publishers March '78

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Amun, Davis, Sanallah, Elrazik and Amin

During the past decade much of the attention in the West — professional as well as political — has focused on the Palestinian struggle for liberation and its social, economic and political underpinnings outside the areas under direct Israeli rule.

This volume seeks to compensate for the lack of recent informed studies on the situation of the Palestinian-Arab people who have lived under Israeli rule since 1948 and whose struggle against Zionism in Palestine is likely to figure prominently in the next years.

This book represents part of the authors' work to help mobilise urgently needed material and political support for the liberation of Palestine from Zionism.

Hardback £4.50  
ISBN 0 903729 26 1  
Paperback £2.50  
ISBN 0 903729 32 6  
Publisher: Ithaca Press and Miftah Publications March '78

### **Where Were You, Brother? An Account of Trade Union Imperialism**

Don Thomson and Rodney Larson

The vast majority of trade unionists don't know the first thing about the workings of trade union internationalism. In this book a British and US trade unionist set out to explore what it is all about and examine, in particular its impact on the Third World. They document, for instance, how the TUC and other western national trade union centres are associated with union splitting and the downfall of democratic governments in the Third World.

Prominent European and Third World trade union leaders speak openly about the capture of the international trade union machinery by governments and intelligence agencies. The authors agree that the most serious repercussion is the erosion of the idea of international trade-union solidarity and show why it is vital that the trade union movement regain control of its international machinery.

Publisher: War on Want £1.20  
Distributor: PDC August '78

### **Tomorrow's Epidemic?**

Mike Muller

*Tomorrow's Epidemic* is a War on Want investigation into the production, promotion and use of tobacco in the developing countries.

In 1971, the *British Medical Journal* said: "There is a real danger of this deadly habit [smoking] being exported to the younger countries of Africa and Asia, and the Western world has a responsibility to see that this is not done." This report shows how, in spite of these warnings, large tobacco companies like British American Tobacco, are using their financial power and influence to encourage Third World countries to grow tobacco instead of food, and exporting the deadly habit of cigarette smoking in the interests of profit.

110pp Paperback £1.20  
ISBN 0 905990 03 X June '78 A5  
Publisher: War on Want  
Distributor: PDC

## INTERNATIONAL UK

### **Poverty and Power**

Bimonthly magazine

Edited by Amrit Wilson

A new magazine about imperialism, development and aid. *Poverty and Power* will not write 'objectively' about exploitation and racism or present the lives and struggles of Third World and immigrant workers in Britain as objects for study. It will try to reflect their experience of reality. It will try and link the meaning and feeling of exploitation with the causes and profits behind it. June-July issue has articles on: Bengali women and the NHS, racism and sexism; Mill Workers' Massacre in India; Tobacco companies and the Third World. Aug-Sept issue will look at South Korea — the gigantic sweatshop; Overseas students — hardship and surveillance; Women in ZANU etc.

28-36pp A4 Periodical 20p per issue or £1.50 annual sub.

Publisher: War on Want

Distributor: PDC

### **New Edinburgh Review**

A quarterly magazine with regular articles on current social, cultural and political affairs. There are reviews and articles on topics as diverse as art and environment, and book reviews, poetry and fiction.

Conor Cruise O'Brien, Tom Nairn, Neal Ascherson, E.J. Hobsbawn, Owley Dudley Edwards are some of the contributors to date.

40pp A4 45p  
August, November, February  
Publisher: Edinburgh University Students Publications Board  
Distributor: EUSPB

### **Meanwhile Gardens**

Jamie McCullough

One day in 1976 a young sculptor,

Jamie McCullough, was crossing a bridge over the Grand Union Canal in Paddington. Looking down he saw a long, narrow strip of wasteland. In his mind's eye he began to reshape it . . . for the dream to come to life, it needed to become the local people's creation, to build, develop, maintain and manage.

The Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation will publish a series of books devoted to inner city problems and solutions. The first, *Save Our Cities* by Rosemary Righter, was based on a conference held in February last year.

56pp Paperback 75p  
ISBN 0903319 13 6 July '78  
Publisher: Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation  
Distributors: PDC

### **The Politics of Positive Discrimination**

John Edwards and Richard Batley

This book provides an essential contribution to the current debate concerning the glaring problems of the inner city, and how they should be met. The authors give a close, and at times 'blow by blow' account of how and why Britain's first area discrimination programme, the Urban Programme, came about. Drawing upon their unique experience of research carried out within a government department, they show how the Programme developed under the influences of both the changing conceptions of urban deprivation and the structural constraints within central and local government.

about 220pp Hardback £9.95  
ISBN 0 422 76660 7  
November  
Publisher: Tavistock  
**From Immigration Control to 'Induced Repatriation'**  
A. Sivanandan

The pamphlet argues that since Britain no longer needs the workers it



## INTERNATIONAL/UK

was once desperate for it would like to lay them off — preferably to their country of origin and that all immigration acts from 1952-71 have pointed to this end.

The Select Committee reflects that philosophy tempered with reason: "If you are here, be like us, if you cannot, go home". In the hands of the Tories, however, the new philosophy emerges full fledged and stark: people of an alien culture are threatening to 'swamp' Britain, the British way of life is in danger, the majority's fears must be allayed.

"The most devastating consequences of all this Tory activity," writes Sivandan, "has been the terror unleashed on the black communities. Down in the ghetto — far removed from Thatcher country — the majority, whose fears the Tory lady (*sic*) wished to allay, have literally taken the law into their own hands and begun to terrorise the black population."

12pp A5 Pamphlet 20p  
Publisher: Institute of Race Relations  
Distributor: PDC

### **The Review of Security and the State Vol 1** State Research

A hardback of the first seven issues of State Research Bulletin, published between October '77 and September '78. Each issue contains news, reviews and a background paper. The book has an index and an introduction by E.P. Thompson. The background papers have investigated The Institute for the Study of Conflict, The Special Branch, The Official Secrets Act, and the Economic League. *State Research* picks up news items from a wide range of sources (see p. ). Issue 5 quotes a *Daily Mail* story of a meeting at the House of Commons between John Davies, the Shadow Foreign Secretary, and representatives of the CIA backed FNLA, fighting against the government in Angola. Also present at the meeting were Julian

Amery, the gentleman Tory MP, and John Banks, the gentleman British mercenary.

### **State Research Bulletin**

24pp A5 35p, sub £3.00

Distribution: PDC

**The Review of Security and the State**  
146pp A5 Hardback £10.00

Publisher: Julian Friedmann

### **A Knife at the Throat of Us All** Dave Cook

A detailed examination of the policies and activities of racist and fascist organisations in Britain, in particular of the National Front. Explains the distinction between racism and fascism and argues the need to combine the fight against the National Front with a continuous and many-sided effort to combat racism in all its forms, and achieve racial equality in practice. On this basis it discusses the building of a broad anti-racist movement and the tactics to be adopted, as well as the positive case for a multi-racial, multi-cultural society.

32pp A5 Pamphlet 30p  
ISBN 90030 02879

Publisher: Communist Party of Great Britain

Distributor: Central Books

### **Building with Direct Labour**

Faced with a concerted attack on direct labour by private contractors and the Conservative Party, this pamphlet provides detailed statistics and informed propaganda to help those fighting to preserve jobs and living conditions for local authority tenants and employees.

120pp A4 Pamphlet £1.20

Publisher: CSE Political Economy of Housing Workshop

Distributor: PDC

## INTERNATIONAL/UK

### **The British Road to Socialism**

Programme of the Communist Party of Great Britain

This new edition of the Communist Party's programme for socialism in Britain was the subject of Granada Television's three-part *Decision* series on "British Communism" in July and August. It was adopted at the party's congress in November 1977 following on nine months discussion. While inheriting the key principles of previous editions it contains, in response to political developments over the last decade, some important new features. Notable among them are the concept of the broad democratic alliance and the party's view of the revolutionary process.

64pp A5 pamphlet 30p

ISBN 90030 02860

Publisher: Communist Party of Great Britain

Distributor: Central Books

### **Revolutionary Communist No 8**

Articles include 'Ireland: Imperialism in Crisis 1968-78' by Terry Marlowe & Stephen Palmer. This shows how British imperialism's role is necessary to repress the struggle for self-determination, and that the only way forward for the Irish people is the defeat of British rule. Also published for the first time in English, 'Imperialist War and the Question of Peace — the Peace Politics of the Bolsheviks before the 1917 Revolution' by Roman Rosdolsky; a reply to Gerry Laversha's attack on the RCG in *Marxism Today* and a review of *Capitalism in Crisis* by Walton and Gamble.

Periodical 50p plus 15p p&p

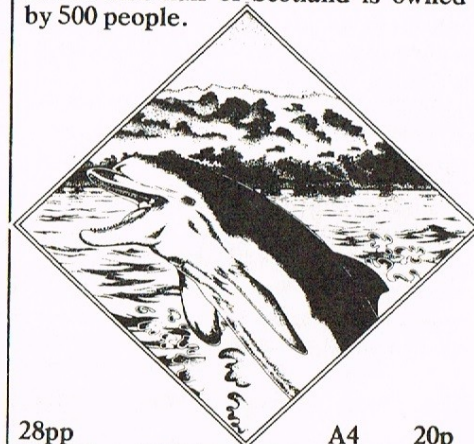
Publisher: RCG Publications

### **Whole Earth**

The best of the alternative lifestyle magazines goes right into the lion's den . . . to the heart of the establishment. *Whole Earth's* Tony Montague

interviews the Minister of State for Energy, Tony Wedgwood Benn, in his West London home; Pete Blench visits the House of Commons to see Joan Maynard the 'farmworkers MP'.

Another writer, 'Lou', tells us all about her family life *Living in a Bus* complete with woodburning stove. Also a report on a recent study which shows that half of Scotland is owned by 500 people.



28pp A4 20p  
Publisher: Whole Earth Group  
Distributor: PDC Subscription £2

### **News Release**

*News Release* is a quarterly magazine covering developments in the law and drug use in the United Kingdom. Both feature and news sections are mainly written by members of the Release organisation which helps and advises people in trouble with the law.

Our last issue featured the Operation Julie LSD trial that resulted in several prison sentences of up to 13 years. The next issue (autumn '78) will cover the Special Patrol Group of the Metropolitan Police, the treatment of Irish prisoners at the hands of the Royal Ulster Constabulary, the role of the tobacco companies in the Third World and all the latest news. 24pp Periodical 35p

ISSN 0309 5495

Publisher: Release Publications

Distributor: PDC



## INTERNATIONAL/UK

### North Shields: Women's Work North Tyneside CDP

Women both produce (goods and services) and reproduce (people). How has capitalism utilised this dual capacity in the past and today? And how do women's struggles for autonomy and independence relate to that of the working class as a whole? This report looks at the experience of women in North Shields as both mothers/wives and workers and attempts to provide some answers to these questions.

100pp approx A4 £1.20  
Publisher: North Tyneside CDP/  
Newcastle Polytechnic  
Distributors: Benwell CDP/PDC/  
The Home Office May '78

### In and Out of Work North Tyneside CDP

This report is from a study carried

out by the North Tyneside CDP Income Maintenance Project team. It contains both a replication of a study of unemployment carried out in North Shields in 1963, and a further study of male unemployment and its impact on the lives of men and their families in this old urban industrial area of Tyneside.

287pp A4 £1.20  
Publisher: North Tyneside CDP/  
Newcastle Polytechnic  
Distributors: Benwell CDP/PDC/  
The Home Office May '78

### North Shields: Working Class Politics and Housing 1900-1977 Volume 1

North Tyneside CDP

This report looks at two themes which have had particular importance for the work of the Project, the history of the Labour Movement locally and the course of housing development. The



## INTERNATIONAL/UK/US

history of the Labour Movement is important in that it provides us with a perspective for looking at recent working class activity in the area. An understanding of the history of housing development has been important in the context of the Project's own heavy involvement and commitment to housing issues.

72pp A4 £1.20  
Publisher: North Tyneside CDP/  
Newcastle Polytechnic  
Distributors: Benwell CDP/PDC/  
The Home Office

### North Shields: Living with Industrial Change Vol 2

North Tyneside CDP

This report is in two parts. The first focuses on the changes which the industrial base of North Shields has undergone this century.

The second details work which the North Tyneside CDP undertook in the mid 1970s around industrial and employment issues.

290pp approx £1.20  
Publisher: North Tyneside CDP/  
Newcastle Polytechnic  
Distributors: Benwell CDP/PDC/  
The Home Office Sept '78

### North Shields: Organising for Change in a Working Class Area Vol 3

North Tyneside CDP

As with many of the Community Development Projects much of the work in North Tyneside has centred on group issues, especially housing issues. At the same time the Project has also made a considerable input into the areas of information and play work.

The report draws on the project's experience between 1973 and 1977 to pose questions about the future direction of action over housing, health, education and other aspects of the welfare state.

84pp A4 pamphlet £1.20  
Publisher: North Tyneside CDP/  
Newcastle Polytechnic  
Distributors: Benwell CDP/PDC/  
The Home Office April '78

### North Shields: Organising for Change in a Working Class Area — The Action Groups Vol 4

North Tyneside CDP

This report, the companion to Volume 3, looks in detail at the housing work of North Tyneside CDP, with groups in seven different parts of the project area, ranging from 19th century industrial villages to inter-war council estates. Whether council or private housing, the issues were similar even if the action taken to deal with them varied. Modernisation and repairs, slum clearance and improvement, along with a host of other 'smaller' issues were the concerns of the groups described in this report.

104pp A4 £1.20  
Publisher: North Tyneside CDP/  
Newcastle Polytechnic  
Distributors: Benwell CDP/PDC/  
The Home Office

**Imperial Brain Trust**  
**The Council on Foreign Relations**  
**and United States Foreign Policy**  
Laurence H. Shoup and William Minter  
"Shoup and Minter have produced the first in-depth analysis of the activities and influence of the most important private institution in the formulation of US foreign policy . . . The authors analyze the structure of the CFR and its links to, and influence on government, the media, the universities, the large foundations, and other foreign policy organisations . . . based on detailed research, including examination of material hitherto unavailable to the public — all of which serves to build a massively documented case." *Library Journal*  
334pp Paperback \$6.50/£3.85  
Publisher: Monthly Review  
ISBN 0 85345 436 1 October '78



## INTERNATIONAL—US

### American Thinking about Peace and War

Edited by Ken Booth and Moorhead Wright

This book deals with American thinking about war and peace throughout the two hundred years of its existence. Ten British and American scholars have been given the opportunity to write reflective essays on key subjects such as the causes and impact of war, peace ideals, military strategy, alliances and legal problems, and the difficult constitutional aspects.

Overall, this book presents many insights into the range and depth of American thinking about the main aspects of war and peace in international society. In the 'American century' an understanding of these attitudes is essential for anyone concerned with American conduct in foreign affairs.

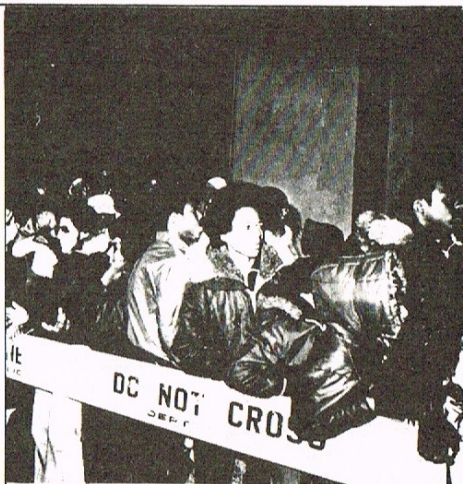
232pp Hardback £9.95  
ISBN 0 85527 859 5  
Publisher: Harvester Press

### Protest, Politicians and Prosperity Black Americans and White Institutions 1940-75

Dorothy Newman, Nancy Amidei, Barbara Carter, Dawn Day, William Kruvant, Jack Russell

An authoritative if unofficial white paper on black progress since the 1940s, *Protest, Politics and Prosperity* takes stock of the quality and extent of access that black Americans have gained to the key institutions of American life: work, education, housing, and health care.

Leading unremittingly to the fundamental point that a decent and permanent income through jobs is the prerequisite of meaningful participation in any of society's institutions, the study speaks with clarity and immediacy to the question of black unemployment, which once again has become a burning issue of the day.



384pp Hardback \$15/£9.00  
ISBN 0 394 41202 8  
Paperback \$4.95/£2.95  
ISBN 0 394 73448 3  
Publisher: Pantheon  
Distributors:  
US: Random House  
Europe: TABS

### Radical America

*Radical America* is an independent socialist and feminist journal entering its second decade of publication. It features articles about working class activity, past and present, plus analyses of racism and sexism, reports on organising, historical studies of radicalism, and debates around socialist strategy.

Vol 2 No 3 includes 'Holding the Line: Miner's Militancy and the Strike of 1978' by Jim Green, 'The Coming of the Line: The Ford Highland Park Plant 1910-1914' by Jack Russell and 'San Francisco's International Hotel: Case Study of a Turf Struggle'.

Bimonthly. Subscription: US \$10; elsewhere \$12.

\$2.00/£1.20

Publisher: Radical America  
Distributors:  
US: Carrier Pigeon  
UK: PDC

## INTERNATIONAL—US/ CULTURE

### The Black Liberation Struggle — Within the Current World Struggle

Bill Epton

Critique of the current state of the Black American revolution in general . . . Also includes an analysis of Black America's class structure, the battle against revolutionary nationalism, racism, sexism and dogmatism.

7" x 7¼" April '76 \$0.50  
Publisher: Black Liberation Press

### In Pursuit of Happiness American Conceptions of Property, from the 17th Century to the 20th Century

William B. Scott

This book clarifies the various meanings the Americans have attached to the image of property. From Colonial times through the 19th century they tended to define property as the right of individual access to productive resources, especially land. By the end of the 19th century some rejected this concept and began to argue in favour of collective property rights. By the 20th century, the opportunity to own and control productive property was no longer feasible for most persons.

The wide range of opinions as illustrated by the conflicting views of Jefferson and Hamilton, is clearly delineated in this book.

256pp Hardback £8.75  
5½" x 8¼"  
Publisher: Indiana University Press  
Distributor: American University  
Publishers Group ISBN 253 32930 2

### What Is Literature?

Jean-Paul Sartre

What is writing? Why does one write? And for whom? In this book first published in England in 1950 (second edition 1967), Jean-Paul Sartre examines the role of the writer in society with immense vigour and erudition. He sees the essential

position of the writer as one of freedom — the freedom to choose their own commitment. After a discussion of the theory and technique of writing, Sartre considers the function of the writer and the writer's audience, and in the final section he describes the problems peculiar to the writer's situation in post-war France.

256pp Paperback £2.95  
ISBN 0 416 69530 2  
Publisher: Methuen September '78

### Reading Television

John Fiske and John Hartley

It is often claimed that certain great artists are able to 'defamiliarise' the established conventions of thought and perception. Television is widely held to be unsuited to this kind of role. It is taken to be wholly commercial, conventional and conservative. In fact, it is the very familiarity of television which enables it to act as an agency of defamiliarisation. Contradictory perceptions are structured into all its messages, and we are not encouraged by any shaping artistic vision to learn to live with them. Furthermore, Brecht and Joyce are frustrated in their intentions by the fate of their products, which have been re-mystified by the constant admiration which is their unhappy lot.

224pp Hardback £5.50  
ISBN 0 416 85580 6  
Paperback £2.50  
ISBN 0 416 85560 1  
Publisher: Methuen July '78

### The Marxist Theory of Art

Dave Laing

The author shows how the orthodox notion of 'socialist realism' emerged from the Soviet disputes over the nature of art under socialism during the 1920s. In the following decade it was codified by the doyen of marxist aestheticians, Georg Lukacs,



## CULTURE

whose views were challenged by the work of Bertold Brecht, in a debate whose terms have re-echoed in marxist aesthetics ever since. Further chapters cover the relationship of marxist aesthetics to structuralism and marxist work in the field in English speaking countries.

158pp Hardback £8.50  
ISBN 0 85527 445 X  
Paperback £3.50  
ISBN 085527 632 0 October  
Publisher: Harvester Press

### Criticism and Ideology

Terry Eagleton

This study of literary theory explores some of the most taxing questions of contemporary aesthetics, and includes the first extended critique in English of the work of Raymond Williams. "There are few critics writing in English with the grasp and confidence to carry off such a sustained piece of analytical thinking. He offers a closely reasoned account of the ideologies of various English authors. Eagleton's book is certainly an impressive performance." *Books and Bookmen*

191pp Paperback £2.50/\$5.25  
ISBN 86091 707 X October  
Publisher: Verso/New Left Books  
US Distributor: Schocken Books

### Red Letters

Communist Party Literary Journal

*Red Letters* aims to go beyond the purely 'literary' by engaging with the areas of culture and ideology particularly in relation to some of the more recent developments in Marxist theory: semiotics, discourse theory, literature and language. By combining these concerns with analyses and critiques of existing forms of cultural theory and practice in the East and West, *Red Letters* attempts to come to terms with the recurrent and press-

ing problems of the relations of these developments to political practice.

The September issue will include: Pierre Machery on Lenin on Tolstoy; Culture and Ideology in GramsciLK; Trevor Griffiths and problems of radical theatre; The work of Athol Fugard; reviews and review articles.

Periodical ISSN 0308-6852  
Individual issues: 80p (o/seas £1.20)  
Subscriptions: Home £2 (o/seas £4.00)  
Publisher: Red Letters  
Distributors: Central Books and PDC

### The Real Life of Domingos Xavier

José Luandino Vieira

The epitaph in *The Real Life of Domingos Xavier* stands today for many who died in the struggle for Angolan independence which came only in 1975. The story is a simple narrative of a worker and his family caught up in the meshes of twentieth-century politics. The hero is a young tractor driver with politically progressive sympathies, who is arrested, tortured and murdered by the police of the Portuguese colonial repression.

96pp Paperback 95p net  
ISBN 0 435 90202 4 Feb '78  
186 x 123mm  
Publisher: Heinemann Educational Books

### Petals of Blood

Ngugi wa Thiong'o

"The Kenyan novelist Ngugi, in his remarkable book *Petals of Blood*, writes with passion about every form, shape and colour which power can take. A political novel, yes, but you have to add at once "among others things", since what is so compelling about its political fervour is exactly that it does always set politics among other things . . . subtly and idiosyncratically written, neither truckling to nor scorning the norms of English prose and yet with many a felicitous and unselfconscious innovation."

## CULTURE

Christopher Ricks, *The Sunday Times*

352pp Hardback £3.95  
ISBN 0 435 90646 1  
Paperback £1.25  
ISBN 0 435 90188 5 June '78  
186 x 123mm  
Publisher: Heinemann Educational Books

### Miramar

Naguib Mahfouz

John Fowles says in his introduction to this classic story of the interlocking lives of people in a hotel in Alexandria: "Miramar allows us the

rare privilege of entering a national psychology, in a way that a thousand journalistic articles or television documentaries could not achieve; and perhaps more importantly, beyond that, we can encounter in it a racial temperament that has been widely misunderstood in the West. I sincerely hope that the reader will share the pleasure and interest I have got from this very revealing, and very human novel."

141pp Paperback 95p  
ISBN 0 435 90197 4 186 x 123mm  
Publisher: Heinemann Educational Books July '78

**Big Red Diary 1979:**  
**Better Active Today than Radioactive Tomorrow**  
Dave Smith (research and text), with help from the *Undercurrents* collective

Every year Pluto produces a Big Red (pocketsize) Diary on a matter of current issue and presents it through anecdote and analysis, in pictures and text with two colours throughout, and in a form as attractive as it is useful.

For 1979 the topic is nuclear power: what it is, who wants it and why; what are its implications for jobs, health, social and political arrangements; and who is campaigning against it, from the Clamshell Alliance in the USA to the Burger Initiatives in West Germany.

160pp A6 Paperback £1.50  
ISBN 0 86104 100 3  
October  
Publisher: Pluto Press  
Distributors:  
UK: Pluto/PDC  
USA: Southwest Book Services  
Canada: Pathfinder Press  
Australia: Book People

1958 Port Hope, Ontario, Canada. Eldorado Nuclear Limited demolishes a uranium refinery. Much of the contaminated rubble is scrounged by workers and other local residents who use it to build at least seventy homes.





## ADDRESSES

Aberdeen People's Press 163 King Street Aberdeen Scotland	CIS 9 Poland Street London W1
Arena Publications Association Box 36 PO Greensborough VIC 3088 Australia	Communist Party of Great Britain 16 King Street London WC2
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Banner Press PO Box 41722 Chicago IL 60641	Critique 31 Clevedon Road Glasgow G12 0PH Scotland
Benwell CDP 87 Adelaide Terrace Newcastle-upon-Tyne UK NE 4 8BB	CSE 55 Mount Pleasant London WC1X 0AE
Black Bear c/o 76 Peckham Road London SE5	Dawn 331 Ormeau Road Belfast 7
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China Books and Periodicals 292 24th Street San Francisco CA 94110	Gay Teachers' Group 112 Broxholm Road London SE27
Cienfuegos Press Over the Water Sanday Orkney KW17 2BL	Granada Frogmore St Albans Herts AL2 2NF UK

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Grassroots Bookshop 1 Newton Street Manchester M1 1HW Granada 100 Skyway Avenue Toronto Ontario Canada M9W 3A6	Matriarchy Study Group Flat 6 15 Guildford Street London WC1
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Wageningen  
Nederlands

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London WC2N 5NG

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London W1 V6

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London W1R 4BP

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New York NY 10022

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New York NY 10014

**Pathfinder Press**  
47 The Cut  
London SE1

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Haymarket 2000  
NSW, Australia

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25 Bulver Street  
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Ontario, Canada

**Peace News**  
8 Elm Avenue  
Nottingham, UK

**Pluto Press**  
Unit 10, Spencer Court  
7 Chalcot Road  
London NW1 8LH

**Progress Publishers**  
21 Zubovsky Boulevard  
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MA 02140, USA

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New York NY 10016

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4/8 Victoria Parade  
Manly  
New South Wales 2095, Australia

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4228 Telegraph Avenue  
Oakland  
CA 94609, USA

**Southwest Book Services**  
4951 Top Line Drive  
Dallas  
Texas 75241, USA

**Spare Rib**  
27 Clerkenwell Close  
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London W1

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PDC has recently set up offices outside London. They are:

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Dave Berry works with PDC in London but can be contacted at 7a High Street, Kings Heath, Birmingham 14.

Mary Phelan acts as an agent in Ireland. 168 Rathgar Road, Dublin 6.

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**Women in Distribution**  
PO 8858  
Washington DC

**PDC Scotland**  
45 Niddry Street  
Edinburgh EH1 1LG



PDC has started to visit shops in the Netherlands and Scandinavia. They would like to know of shops in Europe which want to stock English-language books. We would also like to know of shops which would like to receive *News from Neasden*.

*Bookmarks* is a new guide to leftist and feminist publications in the US. Thirty-five hundred copies of the Spring 1978 issue sold out promptly, and a second issue is being planned for the fall. *Bookmarks* is distributed primarily by leftist and feminist bookstores, which sell it or give it away to interested customers. The second issue will also be available by mail in the US: \$1 for two copies, \$2 for five copies or \$5 for twenty copies. Published by Carrier Pigeon, 88 Fisher Avenue, Boston, MA 02120.

*AchillesHeel* is a new magazine of men's politics. The first issue includes articles on 'Sexism and Male Sexuality' and 'Masculinity and Fascism'. The second issue will be published this autumn. 50p an issue. Distributed by PDC. 7 St Mark's Rise, London E8 2NJ.

Healthright is a women's health education and consumer advocacy organisation. They research and publish pamphlets on women's health concerns and publish a quarterly newsletter *Healthright* (annual subscription \$5). They also conduct courses and are available for speaking engagements. 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010.

*Troops Out* is the paper of the United Troops Out Movement. Each issue contains news and analysis from Ireland and the UK. The August/September issue includes a review of 'two four-page hunks' recently published by the *Sunday Times*. The July issue included this apology from *Republican News*. 'We apologise to our readers for having only an 8 page paper again this week. But last Thursday night in a joint RUC-British army swoop on one of our dumps (!) four pages of this week's edition were seized. Many people are unaware of how *Republican News* is produced. Since the major raids against this paper and the arresting and charging of our business manager, sub-editor and distributor, among others, we have been producing *Republican News* in the homes of sympathisers and supporters in the working class districts of Belfast. Our offices, 170 Falls Road, is under 24 hour surveillance from North Howard Street army post, and anyone entering or leaving is photographed. Over £5,000 worth of equipment (duplicators, typewriters, cameras, files etc) has been seized by the RUC without receipt. That is the gravity and degree of repression mounted against us.'

United Troops Out Movement, Box 10, 2a St Paul's Road, London N1. Distributed by PDC.

'The Other Award' is an alternative children's book award inaugurated by the Children's Rights Workshop in 1975. For a poster promoting the 1978 award send a self-addressed envelope to The Children's Rights Workshop, 73 Balfour Street, London SE17.

Zanzibar is a new lesbian bookshop. They would like publishers to send catalogues and are looking for secondhand and out of print books. Zanzibar, Via Politearna, Roma, Italy.

Just Books is a new libertarian bookshop at 7 Winetavern Street, Belfast. In the same building is an exhibition centre and library. Campaign Books stocks over 1,000 books and pamphlets from 60 diverse pressure groups, including Friends of the Earth, Inter-Action, the National

Council for Civil Liberties and the National Council of Social Service. The address is 9 Rupert Street, London W1, near Piccadilly Circus.

*Building with Direct Labour* (see p55) is written and published by the Direct Labour Collective of the Conference of Socialist Economists. It is unusual for academics to write for a non-academic audience. They are charging £1.75 in shops but 90p to trades unions, tenants organisations and trade councils. One little known fact they include is that Bovis, once associated with Sir Keith Joseph, set up a financial subsidiary which speculated in property during the 'Barber Boom'. The speculation went wrong and Bovis was taken over by P&O. Perhaps it was this experience which convinced Sir Keith of the need for sound money.

*News from Neasden* is now accepted as a bibliographic source by people with a wide range of political opinions. Our recent subscribers include the Central Office of the Conservative and Unionist Party.

After five years and 150 issues, People's News Service has changed from a duplicated to printed format. PNS works closely with UK community papers and exchanges with overseas alternative news services. Earlier this year PNS reported that a woman frying an egg over the eternal flame at the tomb of the Unknown Soldier was arrested by police and charged with desecration. PNS is published fortnightly and costs 25p. Subscription £2.50 for 10 issues, outside UK £3.10. Libraries £10 a year. 182 Upper Street, London N1.

Black Liberation Press will publish a book this winter on early Afro-American radical and Marxist thought, *To Be Black and Red*. Next Spring they will publish *The Black Family, Black Women, and Changing Society*. Box 955, Harlem, NY 10027, USA.

*African Perspectives* is the journal of the Afrika-Studiecentrum in the Netherlands. Articles are in French and English. Subjects covered include African literature and the situation in South Africa and Zimbabwe. Single copies Dfl 13, Subscription (two issues) Dfl 25. Afrika-Studiecentrum, Stationsplein 10, Leiden, Netherlands. Distributed by Bas Moreel.

Roda Rummet will publish the Swedish-language edition of Rudolph Bahro's *The Alternative* (see p37). They also publish *Is the Soviet Union Capitalist* by Klas Eklund and Per Reichard and a book on the Lucas shop stewards' struggle for meaningful production, written by Leif Dahlgren and Wawa Sjödin. Both books would interest English speaking people but there is no translation arranged at present. Bogforlaget Röda Rummet, Box 490 71, 100 28 Stockholm.

The Socialist Book Fair (see back cover) will include most UK publishers of radical books and other English language publishers represented in the UK. There will also be books from European publishers. Critiques Livres will be bringing books from Editions Sociales, François Maspero, 10:18, Christian Borgeois, l'Harmattan, Féderop, Contradictions, Anthropos and Dialectiques. Critique Livres publish *Marxist Readings*, a bibliography of 4,000 titles in English, German and Italian. It is distributed in the UK by the Journeyman Press. Critiques Livres can supply English-language, German, Italian and French books to bookshops and individuals. 173 Avenue de la Dhuys, 93170 Bagnolet, France.

Two titles in Allison and Busby's Motive series have been reprinted and are available through PDC. They are *Ideology and Superstructure in Historical Materialism* by Franz Jakubowski and *The Survival of Capitalism* by Henri Lefebvre. Two recent titles are now available in the USA



through South West Book Services (address p.66). They are *Homosexual Desire* by Guy Hocquenghem and *In the Rapids of Revolution* by John Maclean (details in NfN9).

The Matriarchy Study Group has a collection of slides showing goddess symbols, and ideas associated with matriarchal values. If any women's group would like a showing, please get in touch with MSG at Flat 6, 15 Guildford Street, London WC1. Women only.

*British Soldiers Speak Out on Ireland* is a well-produced A4, 30p pamphlet which includes articles by former soldiers, a Republican prisoner of war in Long Kesh and a history of the British army's operations since 1944. There is also a quote from Frank Kitson's book *Low Intensity Operations*: "When the Regular Army was first raised in the 17th century, 'Suppression of the Irish' was coupled with the 'Defence of the Protestant Religion' as one of the two main reasons for its existence." Distributed by PDC. Published by Information on Ireland, 1 North End Road, London W14. Information on Ireland also distribute *Home Soldier Home*, a black and white 40 minute 16mm film which includes interviews with ex-soldiers and film of the army in action in Ireland and in other colonial wars. £10-£15 a showing plus £3.50 postage.

Three new titles from Pathfinder Press will be published in November. They are *Leon Trotsky on Black Nationalism and Self Determination*, *Dynamics of the Cuban Revolution* by Joseph Hansen, and *Out Now! A participant's account of the American movement against the Vietnam War* by Fred Halstead.

*Accumulation on a World Scale* is published in the UK by Harvester Press, not Monthly Review as shown in our last issue (see p.1).

*The Irish Civil War 1922-23* gives essential background material for an understanding of the present situation in Ireland. Written by Frances Mary Blake who has also edited the second volume of Ernie O'Malley's memoirs *The Singing Flame*. *The Irish Civil War* (30p + 15p p&p) is published by the West London United Troops Out Movement, Box 37, 182 Upper Street, London N1. *The Singing Flame* is published by Anvil, Tralee, County Kerry, Eire.

NACLA's *Report on the Americas* has increased its subscription to \$11 a year for individuals, \$19 for institutions. Rates for airmail outside USA on request. Each issue contains one or more major feature articles and an 'update' section of recent news. NACLA, 464 19th Street, Oakland CA 94612, USA.

*Intervention* No 2 includes an article by Jim Masters on 'Revolutionary Politics as a hobby' which deals with the ways in which revolutionary politics are affected by the Left's present existence as a sub-culture within capitalist society. 50p. 539 Battersea Park Road, London SW11.

The November issue of NfN is a special on women and publishing, with articles by women who write, edit, produce, print, publish, distribute and sell feminist books in various circumstances, from commercial to feminist collective. We want a solid representation of women's work to complement the articles, so please get your advertising copy in by October 31. See inside front cover for rates. Graphics by women to intersperse with the text especially welcome.



# Index

Accumulation on a World Scale 1  
Agrarian Radicalism in Veracruz 14  
Alternative in Eastern Europe, The 50  
American Thinking about Peace and War 59  
AMIN, Samir 1  
AMUN 53  
ANDERSON, Perry 12  
ATKINSON, Dorothy 49  
Australian Liberalism and National Character 47  
Australia's Policy Towards Aborigines 47  
Australia: The Asia Connection 47  
BAHRO, Rudolf 50  
Bard of Savagery, The 19  
BARKER, Rodney 21  
BATLEY, Richard 54  
BENSON, Leslie 19  
BETTELHEIM, Charles  
BETTELHEIM, Charles 9, 48  
Big Red Diary 1979 62  
Black Liberation Struggle, The 60  
Black People's Convention, The 46  
BOK, Sissela 22  
BOOKSHOP JOINT ACTION 32  
BOOTH, Ken 59  
British Road to Socialism, The 56  
Building with Direct Labour 55  
BUJRA, Janet M 8  
BURTON, Neil 48  
Buying Time in South Africa 45  
BYRNE, Eileen 8  
Cambodia: Starvation and Revolution 48  
Candid Kibbutz Book, The 52  
Capital and Labour: Partners? 12  
CAPLAN, Patricia 8  
Changing Urban School, The 16  
CHESNEAUX, Jean 10, 11  
China from the Opium Wars to the 1911 Revolution 10  
China from the 1911 Revolution to Liberation 10  
China Now 48  
China Since Mao 48  
Cienfuegos Press Anarchist Review No 4 21  
Class Struggles in the USSR: First Period 9  
Class Struggles in the USSR: Second Period 9  
CLAUSSEN, Detlev 37  
COGHILL, Mary 4  
Comrades Come Rally! 47  
Constitutional Law and Minorities 1  
COOMBS, Dr H.C. 47  
COOPER, Liz 42  
COUNTERcriticism and Ideology 61  
Cultural Crisis in Modern Medicine, The 1  
Cultural Revolution in Russia 50  
Dawn 50  
DAVIS, Uri 52, 53  
DE CASTRO, Josué 1  
DE CAUX, Len 13  
DE CLEYRE, Voltairine 6  
DE FELICE, Renzo 9  
DE GRAND, Alexander J. 11  
DIGGINS, John P. 19  
Dubois, W.E.B. 46  
EAGLETON, Terry 61

Economy and Class Structure of German Fascism 12  
EDWARDS, John 54  
EHRENREICH, John 1  
EL-ASMAR, Fouzi 52  
ELLIOTT, Dave 2  
EPTON, Bill 60  
Factory Girls, The 8  
Fascism in Aberdeen 14  
FEYERABEND, Paul 2  
Finance of British Industry, The 2  
FISKE, John 60  
FITZPATRICK, Sheila 50  
FONER, Philip S. 8  
Four Women 51  
FRANKEL, Boris 20  
FRANKEL, David 45  
From Humanism to Science 11  
From Immigration Control to 'Induced Repatriation' 54  
FRY, John 22  
Geopolitics of Hunger, The 1  
gombin, Richard 21  
GRAVILL, Diana 23  
GREENE, Felix 49  
HANDYSIDE, Richard 26  
HARRISON, John 18  
HARTLEY, John 60  
HELLMAN, Judith Adler 51  
HELMREICH, Robert L. 5  
HILDEBRAND, George C. 48  
House Built on Sand, A 51  
HYDE, Jim 47  
Imperial Brain Trust 58  
In and Out of Work 57  
In Pursuit of Happiness 60  
Interpretations of Fascism 9  
IQ Heritability and Racism 16  
Is It Worthwhile Working in a Mixed Group? 4  
Italian Nationalist Association, The 11  
JACOBS, Joe 15  
KIBBLEWHITE, Elizabeth 14  
Knife at the Throat of Us All, A 55  
LABOUR ABORTION RIGHTS CAMPAIGN 4  
LACKNER, Helen 51  
LAING, Dave 60  
LARSON, Rodney 53  
Law and Sexuality, The 3  
LAWLER, James 16  
Let's Grow Food 16  
LEVANT, Victor 12  
LEWIS, Gordon K. 8  
LEWIS, Oscar 50, 51  
Living Spirit of the Wobblies, The 13  
LONG, Pauline 4  
Lunatic Ideas 16  
Lying: Moral Choice in Public and Private Life 22  
MAHFOUZ, Naguib 62  
Making of an Anarchist, The 6  
MANDEL, Ernest 18  
MANDROU, Robert 11



## INDEX

- Marcuse, Dilemma and Liberation 22  
 Marxian Theories of the State 20  
 Marxism and Materialism 20  
 Marxist Economics for Socialists 18  
 Marxist Theory of Art, The 60  
 Masculinity and Femininity 5  
 MATRIARCHY STUDIES GROUP 3  
 McCULLOUGH, Jamie 54  
 Meanwhile Gardens 54  
 MERIP Reports 52  
 Mexico in Crisis 51  
 MINTER, William 58  
 Miramar 62  
 MORTON, A.L. 12  
 MULLER, Mike 53  
 Neighbours 50  
 Neocolonialism and Africa in the 1970s 45  
 New Edinburgh Review 54  
 NEWMAN, Dorothy 59  
 News Release 56  
 Nonviolence in Irish History 50  
 North Shields: Women's Work 57  
 North Shields: Working Class Politics and Housing 57  
 North Shields: Living with Industrial Change 58  
 North Shields: Organising for Change in a Working Class Area 58  
 NORTH TYNESIDE CDP 57, 58  
 NORTON, Theodore Mills 16  
 OLLMAN, Bertell 16  
 On the Importance of Africa in World History 46  
 Open and Positive 4  
 Out of the Ghetto 15  
 Palestinian Arabs in Israel 53  
 PALLEY, Claire 1  
 PALLEY, Claire 1  
 Papers on Patriarchy 4  
 Passages from Antiquity to Feudalism 12  
 Peace News 20  
 Peking 49  
 People's Republic of China, The: 1949-1976 11  
 Petals of Blood 61  
 Political Economy 1  
 Political Ideas in Modern Britain 21  
 Political Power and Social Class 19  
 Politics of Matriarchy 3  
 Politics of Nuclear Power, The 2  
 Politics of Positive Discrimination, The 54  
 PORTER, Gareth 48  
 Poverty and Power 54  
 POULANTZAS, Nicos 19  
 Proletarians and Parties 19  
 Protest, Politicians and Prosperity 59  
 Psychology of Imagination, The 21  
 QUAIL, John 14  
 Quest for a True Humanity, The 46  
 Radical America 59  
 Radical Philosophy 18  
 Radical Tradition, The 21  
 Reading Television 60  
 Real Life of Domingos Xavier, The 61  
 Rebels and their Causes 12  
 Red Letters 61  
 Reports from China 1953-1976 48  
 Review of Security and the State 55  
 Revolutionary Communist No 8 56  
 RFD 6  
 RIGBY, Andrew 14  
 ROBINSON, Joan 48  
 ROWSE, Tim 47  
 RUBEN David-Hillel 20  
 SALAMINI, Heather Fowler 14  
 SALES, Bill 45  
 Samora Machel Speaks 45  
 SARTRE, Jean-Paul 21, 60  
 Science in a Free Society 2  
 SCOTT, William B. 60  
 Second Slump, The 18  
 SENDY, John 47  
 SHOUP, Laurence H. 58  
 SIVANANDEN, A. 54  
 Slavery, Imperialism and Freedom 8  
 Slow Burning Fuse, The 14  
 SMITH, Dave 62  
 Socialist Review 18  
 SOHN-RETHEL, Alfred 12  
 Southern Africa/Black America 45  
 SPENCE, Janet T. 5  
 State, Power, Socialism 19  
 STATE RESEARCH 55  
 Studies in Socialist Pedagogy 16  
 Struggle in the Labour Movement, The 4  
 Sugarmill, The 51  
 TARABRIN, E.A. 45  
 Theoretical Review 21  
 THIONG'O, Ngugi wa 61  
 THOMAS, W.A. 2  
 THOMSON, Don 53  
 THORNBURY, Robert 16  
 Tomorrow's Epidemic? 53  
 Towards a Socialist Republic of Palestine 52  
 TUEY, John 16  
 Upsurge in Africa 45  
 Undercurrents 6  
 U.R.P.E. 2  
 US Capitalism in Crisis 2  
 VAN HEIJENOORT, Jean 11  
 VIERA, José Luandino 61  
 WARBURTON, John 4  
 What is Literature 60  
 Where Were You, Brother? 53  
 Whole Earth 56  
 WICKERS, David 16  
 With Trotsky in Exile 11  
 Women at W.A.R. 3  
 Women and Education 8  
 Women in Russia 49  
 Women United, Women Divided 8  
 WRIGHT, Moorhead 59

will allow credit and state the price (including post and packing) when they send the books.

International Books, 17 Elizabeth Street, Melbourne, VIC 3000, Australia.

## libraries

Our library subscription runs from June to June each year. It includes a copy of our *Address List of Bookshops and Publishers* (see below); three issues of *News from Neasden*; and an index by author and title to the three issues, together with a listing by subject area, published soon after the February issue. Libraries subscribing during the subscription year will receive the issues already published.

A grant from the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation allowed us to mail a sample copy of *News from Neasden No 9* to 4,500 libraries (2,000 on Bowker's list for the USA, 2,500 on the IBIS list outside the USA). Anyone reading this can help *News from Neasden* by showing it to a librarian. We will send a sample copy to any library requesting one.

The grant from the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation has also allowed us to put *News from Neasden 1-9* onto microfiche/microfilm. It will be published with a printed index by author and title, together with a listing of titles by subject area. The microfilm is more expensive because we expect most libraries to want microfiche. The microfilm is available in a VSMF cassette. Other cassettes and cartridges may be available but the price may vary. The microfiche costs £5/\$10 a set, the microfilm £10/\$20 a set, post free.

## Address List

The *Address List of Publishers and Bookshops* has been delayed but will be published soon. It lists all the bookshops and publishers to whom we mail copies of *News from Neasden*. We would like to hear from bookshops and publishers who want to receive *News from Neasden*. The list will cost 50p/\$1, post free.

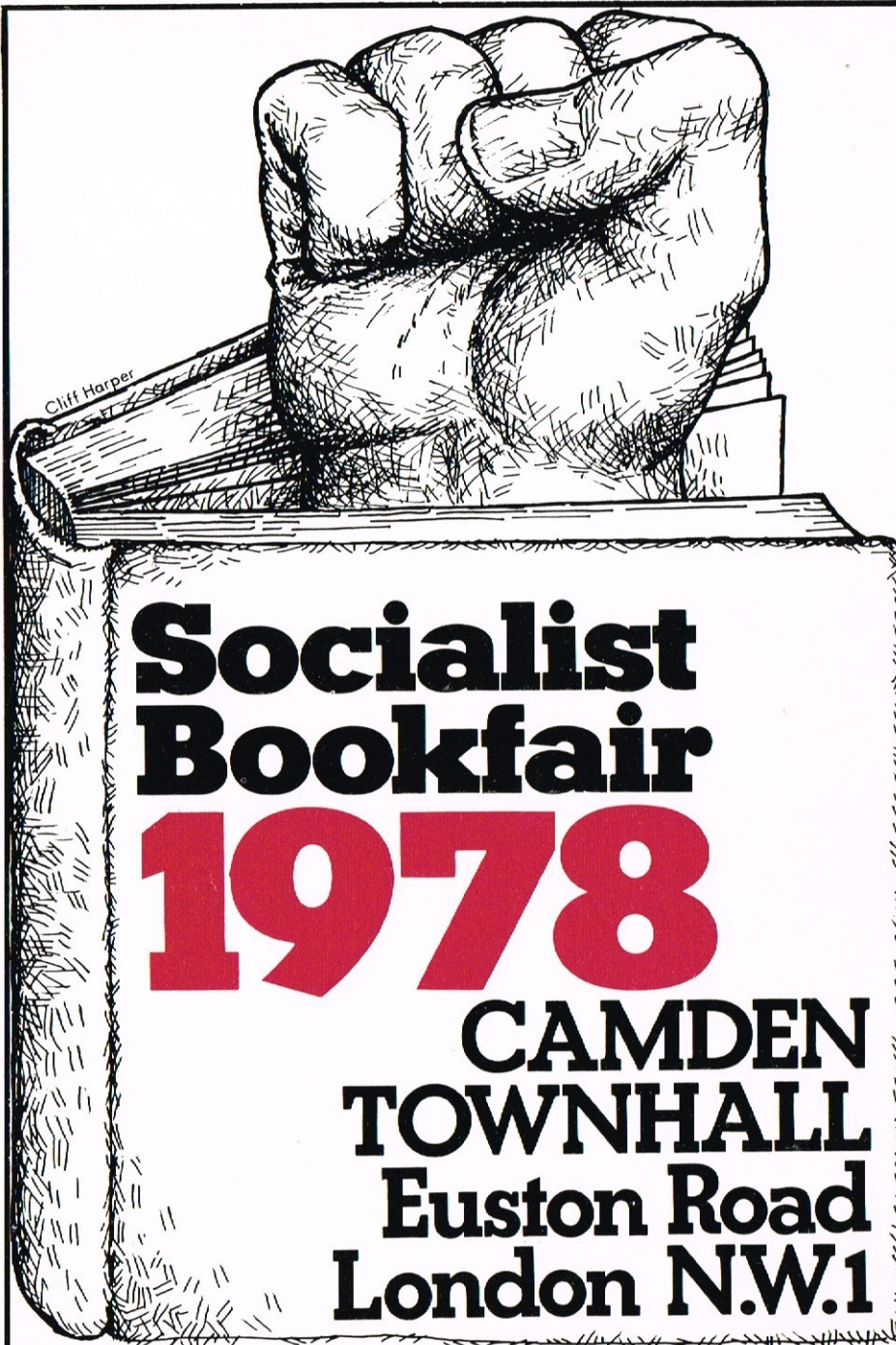
## subscriptions

From this issue, the individual subscription is increased to £2.50/\$6.00. This is because we expect future issues to have a cover price of 80p/\$2.00. We want to have between 200 and 250 titles in each issue and twenty pages of articles which would mean an issue between 100 and 120 pages. We don't know how many titles we will get but the increased subscription will allow us to have 20 pages of articles however many titles there are.

All correspondence about subscriptions, single copies, microfiche/microfilm and address lists should be sent to this address.

**10 Garden Terrace, Chorley,  
 Lancashire  
 U.K.**





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**FRIDAY 10 November**

**SATURDAY 11 November**